

IN THESE TIMES

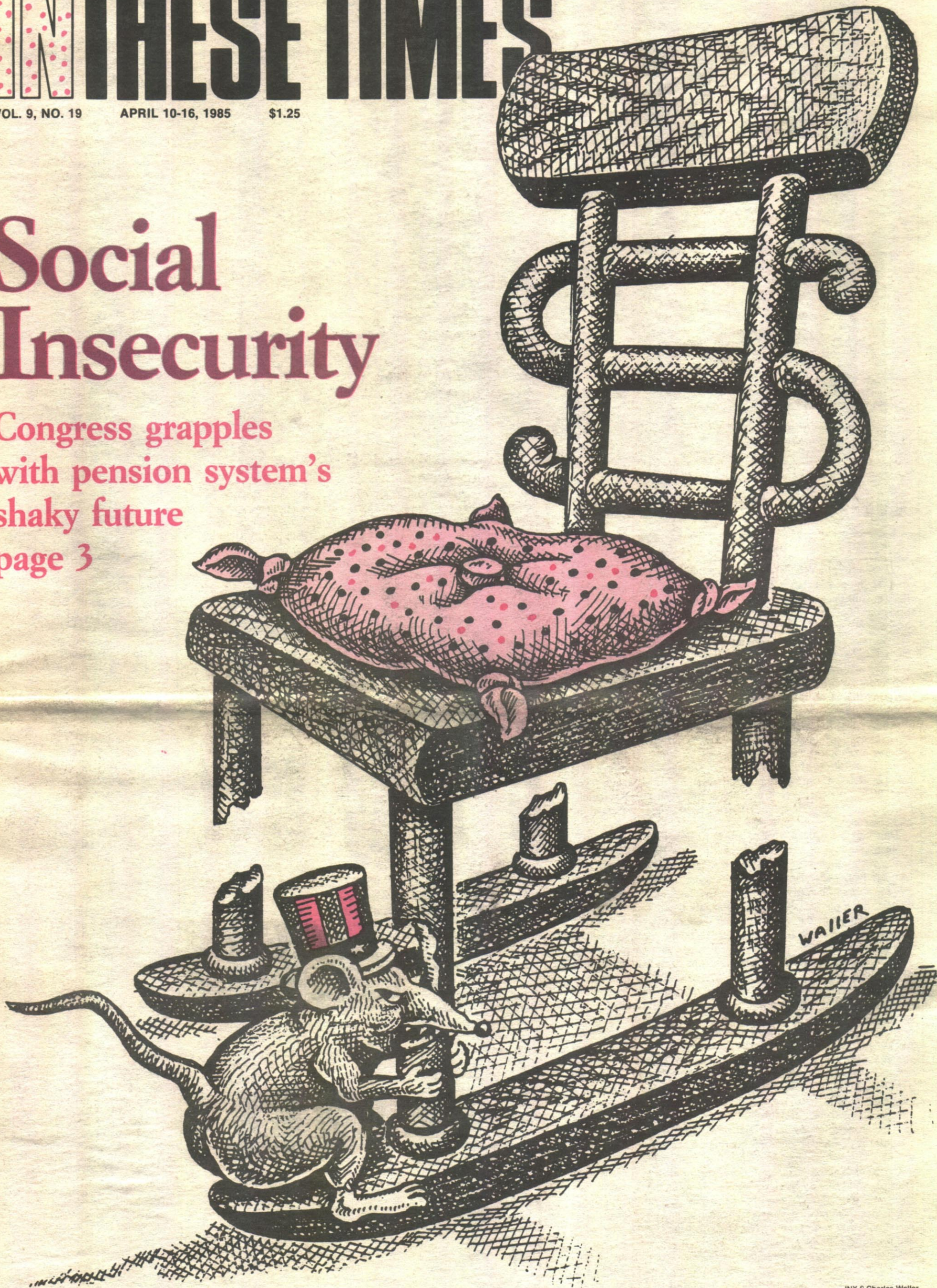
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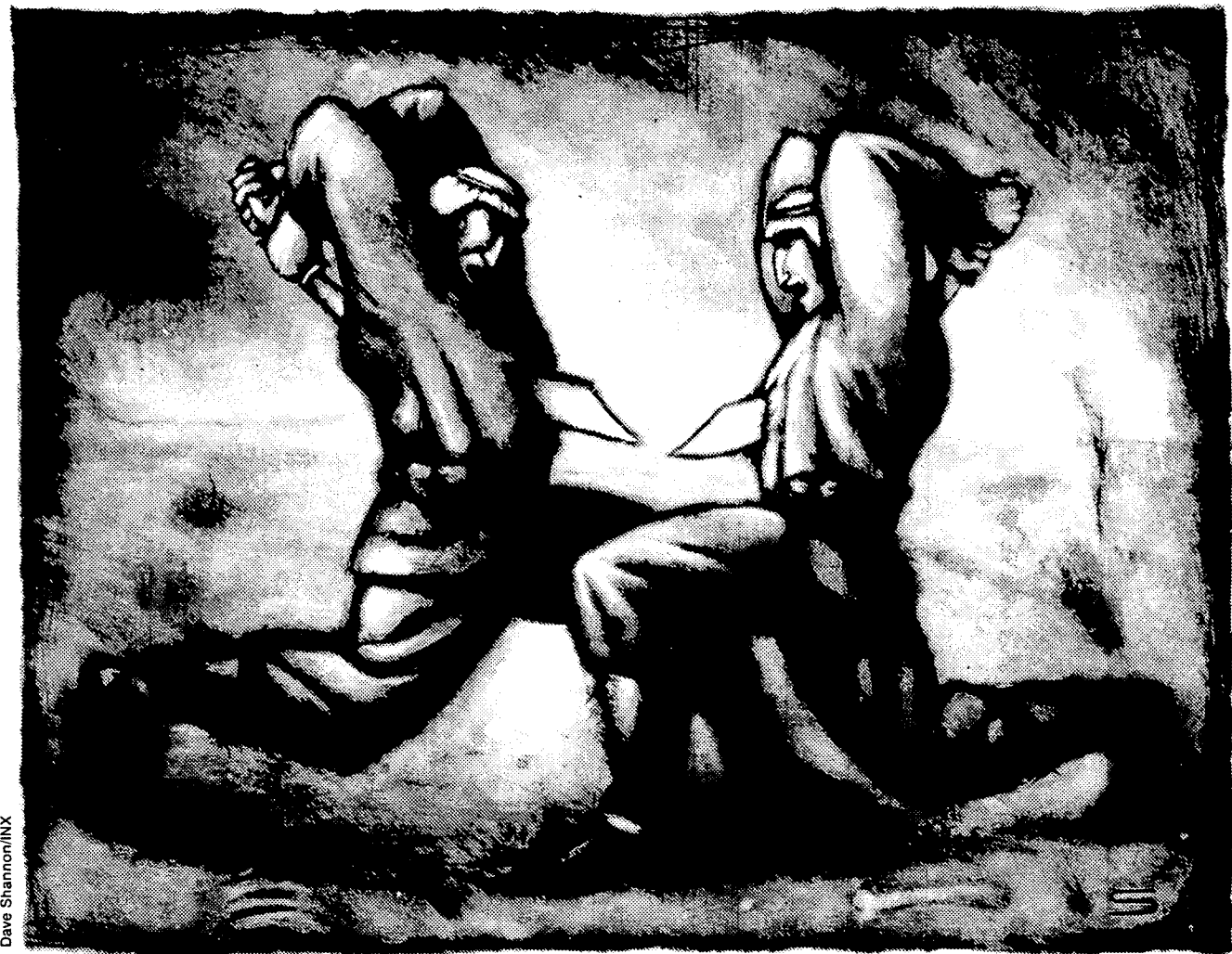
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INX © Charles Waller

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Dave Shannon/INX

Gulf War persists

By Fred Halliday

The failure of Iran's latest offensive in southern Iraq has done little to alter the prospects for the war that has raged at the top of the Persian Gulf since 1980. Many Arab and non-aligned movement observers hope that Iran, with its immediate prospects blunted, will now accept a gradual reduction in tensions—first a return to avoiding attacks on cities, and then moving toward a ceasefire. But evidence from Teheran suggests that this is wishful thinking. Although Iran wants to stop Iraqi attacks on its cities, it does not want the war to end.

Visitors to Teheran describe the mood there as one of calm determination. During the war Iran has experienced heavy casualties, both military and civilian, with deaths estimated at half a million or more, out of a total population of 40 million. Its oil refinery in Abadan has been destroyed and the war is using up resources that could be used to promote economic development.

Iran's initial hopes of a spontaneous pro-Khomeini uprising in Iraq have been dashed. The Iraqi population may not like President Saddam Hussein, but they seem to prefer him to the Ayatollah Khomeini. National sentiment and anger has risen as Iran has rejected Iraq's offer of a ceasefire.

Thus Iran is caught in what promises to be a long, drawn-out conflict, centered on the 700-mile land frontier between the two states, yet extending to the tanker war and to periodic, but comparatively ineffective, bombing raids on each other's capitals. The Iraqis are superior in planes, tanks and artillery, but the Iranians believe that their superiorities—in population and in the willingness of their soldiers to die—will prevail in the end.

Iran believes that the war was imposed on them—and that it will only be possible to end the war once Iraq has been taught a lesson. The ideal lesson would be the establishment of an Islamic Republic of the Khomeini type. But the Islamic opposition in Iraq appears to be weak, and the other opposition groups, Kurds and Communists, are still on the defensive, as well as being critical of the Teheran-sponsored exile mullahs. The other kind of lesson that Iran envisages is to get the regime in Iraq at least substantially changed. Sometimes the Iranians talk about punishing Hussein, at other times they want to remove the entire Ba'th party, which has been in power since 1968.

Iran's current intention seems to be to continue the war until such a change occurs in Iraq. Iranian officials are fond of saying that no one expected them to oust the Shah. In the end, they opine, they will also prevail over Saddam Hussein. Khomeini is sometimes referred to in the official media by the Koranic term 'Idol-Smasher': he smashed the Shah, he smashed Jimmy Carter during the hostage crisis and one day he will smash Saddam.

On the basis of the evidence available from inside Iran, there is no reason to think that domestic constraints will force the Ayatollah to change his mind. The various opposition groups—Kurds, Mojahidin, pro-Soviet Communists—are weaker than at any time since the revolution. The rise in monarchist sentiment detected a year or so ago seems to have petered out.

Divisions remain between different clerical factions over what degree of Islamicization to carry out, and some clerics have been critical of the continuation of the war itself. But these divisions do not suggest that Khomeini and his associates will have to bend to their opponents.

For Iran the economy continues to be a major concern. Iraqi attacks have not ended Iran's oil exports, but they reduced foreign exchange earnings from an estimated \$20 billion to \$13 billion last year, and Iran is encountering problems with its imports. But there are no acute shortages and the major cities remain adequately supplied with consumer goods. The economy, therefore, constitutes a drag, but not an obstacle to the conducting of the war.

The real difficulties that Iran faces lie beyond its frontiers. First,

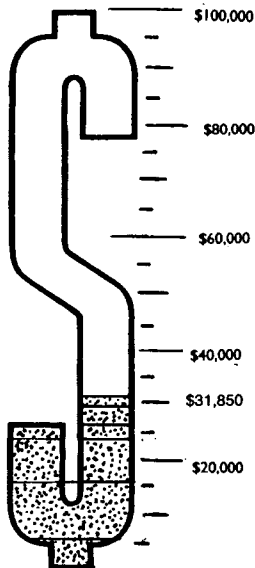
Iran is finding it more and more difficult to purchase weapons. The free market, and countries such as Syria and Libya, continue to supply some arms, but the combination of lack of skilled service and operating personnel and the shortage of spare parts has greatly reduced Iran's offensive capabilities. Second, Iran lacks diplomatic allies. Although Iraq invaded Iran in 1980, the United Nations did not condemn Iraq, and Iran has found few influential friends to back its conditions for a settlement of the war. The U.S., angered by the hostage crisis and Iran's role in Lebanon, implacably opposes a settlement, and the USSR has been openly critical since the imprisonment of Communist Party leaders in 1983. Pakistan and Turkey are quite willing to trade with Iran, but they are neutral in the war.

Iraq, on the other hand, enjoys the support of the majority of the Arab world, receives arms from the USSR and France, and, most important in recent months, up-to-date intelligence material from

THE STORY INSIDE

the U.S. on Iranian troop movements. The Iraqis may believe that Western and Arab aid only flows when the war appears to be intensifying, yet Iran lacks any reliable backers. Iran's inability to press on into Iraq is, in part, a result of improved defensive capabilities that Iraq introduced, with foreign advice and support, last year.

The greatest difficulty Iran faces is the fact that so far Iraq has not cracked. Neither the regime nor the population have lost their nerve, and the flow of foreign support—financial, diplomatic and military—has helped Baghdad redress the strategic balance against Iran. The Iraqis have weaknesses of their own, including a paranoid sense of security that weakens communication needed for the efficient conduct of the war. But while Iran's army occupies part of Iraq's territory, it has not yet been able to win any decisive victory over the Iraqis. It appears committed to a protracted war of attrition along the frontier, in the hope that sooner or later the regime will crumble. It remains to be seen whether Iran's perseverance will pay off, at a terrible price, or whether in the end Khomeini's idol-smashing fist will be broken on Iraqi resistance.



Signing off—for now

Sometimes it just doesn't pay to know too much. That was true last week, when we received about what we expected in the eighth week of our \$100,000 fund drive. It was only \$702, from 25 subscribers, and it brought our total of contributions and pledges (\$455) to \$31,850. In addition, one subscriber agreed to become a monthly sustainer, bringing our total to 386, only 14 away from our goal of 400 regular sustainers.

With this poor showing, we are closing down our dollarometer. It may creep up a bit more, but it's too painful to watch such slow progress. So until the real emergency, farewell.

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By Salim Muwakkil

NEARLY 75 PERCENT OF ALL low-income retirees depend on Social Security payments for their primary source of income. In 1979, the Advisory Council on Social Security Financing and Benefits held that "single people who have worked full time at the federal minimum wage do not now receive a benefit sufficient to keep them out of poverty," and that situation has grown worse in 1985. For these elderly U.S. citizens, any proposal to cut their meager benefits is not just an exercise in budget reduction politics, but a serious threat to their survival.

Just such a proposal, a plan to freeze next year's cost-of-living adjustment (COLA) for Social Security beneficiaries, was recently approved by the Republican-controlled Senate Budget Committee as part of a general package to reduce the federal budget deficit. Although President Ronald Reagan has publicly opposed the COLA freeze, he's lately been saying he would consider supporting the action if there was "an overwhelming bipartisan majority" in favor of it. The narrow 11-10 committee vote, which split strictly along party lines, indicates that such a majority has yet to materialize.

Reagan's reluctance to tamper with Social Security, even as he regularly trashes other, less comprehensive social programs, reveals just how esteemed this massive government program has become. For, even in an administration that views most social programs as demonic manifestations, Social Security withstands attack.

When the Social Security Act was signed into law by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1935, it was thoroughly damned by conservatives as an example of "creeping socialism." Now, 50 years later, this most conservative of U.S. presidents has become one of the program's most vocal supporters (though some have insisted Reagan's support is another in his repertoire of shams). During last year's presidential campaign, Reagan and opponent Walter Mondale almost tripped over themselves trying to out-dedicate each other to preserving the integrity of the Social Security system.

Designed as a simple financial supplement for retirement needs, the program, which became the flagship of Roosevelt's New Deal, began as a mere shadow of what it has become. The system at first covered only those in private business and industry, which was less than half the workforce. A payroll tax of 1 percent up to the first \$3,000 of annual earnings, shared by employer and employee, was used to finance the program. Employee benefits were to be limited to cash payments after retirement at the age of 65. Congress soon extended beneficiaries to include the aged wife spouse and the children of a retired worker and the survivor and young children of a covered worker who dies.

The formal nomenclature for this basic program is Old Age Survivor's Insurance (OASI). In 1956, disability insurance was added to cover workers incapacitated by injury or illness (OASDI). Medicare, a system of hospital and medical insurance, was grafted onto the program in 1965 (OASDHI). All of these programs are financed by separate payroll taxes, united under the FICA designation.

Today, one out of six U.S. citizens receives some type of benefit from the system. Nearly 118 million workers and their employers (90 percent of the workforce) support these beneficiaries through a payroll tax that deducts 7.05 percent of wages to a maximum of \$37,500.

Unlike a pension or true insurance system, in which contributions are invested to pay for future benefits, Social Security is founded on a pay-as-you-go arrangement: taxes from today's workers support today's retirees. The government must tax future workers and employers to insure that future retirees receive benefits. Social Security's structure allows the average retiree to receive much more in benefits than that per-



United Media Enterprise

Social Security faces an insecure future

son paid in taxes. This intergenerational transfer-payments system fulfills an implicit contract between those currently working and those retired. But because of problems inherent to the system and those added to it, the financial soundness of this contract is uncertain.

The major factor in determining the integrity of the Social Security system is the ratio between the number of those working and the number of retirees, dependents and survivors entitled to benefits. In 1945, there were 50 workers paying taxes to support

and raising the maximum income on which taxes would be paid.

For unexplained reasons, the Carter plan counted on an improving economy. Instead, unemployment, inflation and economic stagnation worsened. The Social Security plight became critical again and Congress took the politically expedient step of reallocating surplus money from the OASDI fund to the tottering OASI program.

Worker-to-retiree ratio.

The current ratio of workers to retirees is a little over three-to-one. It is estimated that the ratio will be below two-to-one by the second half of the 21st century—a mere 65 years from now. The same economic and demographic forces that worked to the system's benefit in the '50s and '60s are now pushing the program toward imminent insolvency. Wages (which determine payroll-tax receipts) had been chronically lagging behind prices, while benefits (which are price-indexed—COLAs) were protected. In the current economic climate, both wages and prices are relatively low, but unemployment is high. The Social Security Administration (SSA) calculates that every percentage increase in unemployment costs the system more than \$2 billion in revenues.

But even more important, lower fertility and greater longevity are changing the age structure of the U.S. population. The number of potential beneficiaries is growing faster than the number of workers who will be asked to support them. The problem will balloon enormously after the year 2015. That's when the Baby Boom generation will begin reaching retirement age, and that huge demographic hump will cause a great imbalance.

In 1983, the National Commission on Social Security Reform, a bipartisan 15-member group appointed by Reagan and chaired by conservative economist Alan Greenspan, recommended a series of steps be taken to strengthen the system. Many of the commission's recommendations were incorporated into the Social Security Amendments of 1983, and they include provisions for limiting future growth in expenditures and increasing payroll tax revenues in an attempt to ease both the short-term and long-term deficits. Because of these adjustments, many of which were

bitterly contested, the SSA now estimates that the OASDI fund will have a surplus until about 2020 and then deficits will again develop. Despite the carefully calculated projections, the system remains vulnerable to the vagaries of economic and demographic forces.

The Medicare program, which is not included in these estimates, is projected to carry deficits well into the next century. Some analysts calculate that \$1.5 trillion in additional revenues will be needed to keep the total system solvent for the next 75 years.

The system's failings.

In most of the recent discussion on ways to preserve the Social Security system's financial integrity, there's been precious little said about the quality of the system's benefits. The most conspicuous problems are the inadequacy of the present minimum benefit, inequities for women and the wholly ineffective response of Medicare to the health-care needs of the elderly.

It was earlier noted that those receiving minimum benefits were condemned to poverty. Most of those receiving the smallest checks are women—including an extremely large proportion of black women. The National Center for Policy Analysis in Dallas reported that black males are particularly ill-served by the system. A recent study by the group found that a black male born in 1983 will pay more than \$60,000 in payroll taxes into the system, but since he has a life expectancy of 64—three years short of retirement age—he'll die before the checks start.

Medicare now covers about 40 percent of the medical costs of the elderly. Acute hospital care absorbs most of the coverage. Medicare doesn't cover the care required for chronic conditions, so elderly patients often incur large medical expenses that they must pay from their own resources. Since Medicare makes no contribution toward supporting care at home or in a nursing home, it encourages unnecessary and costly hospital stays. With federally-imposed limits on the number of days Medicare will cover, the chronically ill senior citizen is soon left with nothing.

Probable changes.

Everyone agrees that something must be done to insure the solvency and effectiveness of the Social Security system, but consensus remains elusive. Among the many recommendations made by those who study the system, the following seem to have the best chance of being implemented:

- Gradually raise the age of retirement and/or adopt a recent Swedish approach called "phased retirement." Older people

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BATTLE OF THE BUDGET

The number of beneficiaries is outgrowing the number of workers who will support them.

payments to each beneficiary. Although that ratio decreased dramatically by 1950, the extraordinary expansion in the economy in the two decades following the war brought in an enormous amount of revenue from payroll taxes. The system's reserves were so healthy that in 1972 an advisory group concluded that the program was so overfinanced it would accumulate a surplus of nearly a trillion dollars by 2025.

By the late '70s, however, it was clear that those earlier forecasts had not accounted for double-digit inflation and a simultaneous economic slowdown ("stagflation"). In 1977, the system's trustees (the secretaries of Health and Human Services, Labor and the Treasury) predicted the disability fund would bust by the end of 1979 and the retirement fund by 1983. President Jimmy Carter's administration formulated a plan "to eliminate the Social Security deficit for the remainder of this century," which focused on increasing the payroll tax

By Joan Walsh

SOUTH AFRICAN AMBASSADOR Bernard Fourie thought things were going "marvelously," TransAfrica director Randall Robinson recalls, throughout most of their meeting at the Washington, D.C. Embassy November 21. Along with Civil Rights Commissioner Mary Frances Berry and District of Columbia congressional delegate Walter Fauntroy, Robinson listened attentively and respectfully to the Ambassador's apparent surprise, as Fourie offered a long-winded defense of his country's apartheid policies.

Then aides called Fourie away, and he returned a little perplexed. Reporters had phoned to confirm a "ridiculous" story that the black leaders had come to formally protest South Africa's racial policies, and didn't plan to leave. The three confirmed the report, and the ambassador was forced to have them arrested.

Since then 1,800 people have been arrested outside the Embassy, including 20 Congress members and the first Republican senator ever to be arrested for civil disobedience, Lowell Weicker of Connecticut. More than 1,000 others have been arrested around the country, demonstrating at consulates, krugerrand dealers and other South African institutions. The Free South Africa Movement, as it dubbed itself, is strikingly broad, with top level support from organized labor, churches and synagogues and more than a few Republicans.

Now, as violence in South Africa intensifies, so does the push for anti-apartheid legislation in this country—the roster of congressional bills is lengthening like the embassy arrest lists. Eighteen anti-apartheid bills have been introduced in the House; four in the Senate. And on March 27, a bill sponsored by Sen. Charles Mathias (R-MD) calling for economic sanctions against South Africa in two years passed the Senate Foreign Relations Committee 16-1.

But the success of Mathias' bill, in many ways the weakest of the economic sanctions bills before Congress, points up the Free South Africa Movement's current dilemma—coping with sudden success. As Jennifer Davis of the American Committee on Africa notes, "Now politicians are seeing that there's something in this movement for them, it's something that can deliver. In the old days we used to have to go begging for support. But now there are going to be a lot of attempts"—she mentions Mathias—"to come clean symbolically and not really do anything."

Launched after the early November black South African job stay-away, the Free South Africa Movement initially had four goals: the release of black trade unionists arrested during the strike, negotiations between Pretoria and the African National Congress, freedom for ANC leader Nelson Mandela and an end to the Reagan administration's policy of "constructive engagement." Now the movement is focusing more directly on economic sanctions, which Robinson says was "implicit" in its condemnation of constructive engagement.

But the increased emphasis on sanctions forces Robinson and others to walk a difficult political line. They must applaud the genuine change in political climate signaled by the proliferation of anti-apartheid bills, but criticize those that are merely symbolic. Within the anti-apartheid coalition there are differences over how far economic sanctions should go. The AFL-CIO has come around to support a ban on new investment, but not the removal of existing U.S. investment.

At the same time, though TransAfrica, the Congressional Black Caucus and veterans of the nation's divestment movement favor a ban on existing and future investment, they're constrained to support the farthest reaching legislation that has a serious chance of passing, even if it stops significantly short of their goals.

By most accounts that bill is the Kennedy-Gray Anti-Apartheid Act of 1985. Sponsored by Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-MA) and U.S. Rep. William Gray (D-MO), the bill bans new investment in loans to

IN THE NATION



PROTEST

Protests, like the one pictured here, have proliferated in recent weeks.

South Africa, and prevents the importation of krugerrands and the exportation of U.S. computer technology. Although it stops short of divestment, the bill's impacts are considerable—krugerrands alone bring the South African government a half billion dollars annually, and U.S. firms provide 70 percent of the computers purchased there.

The Mathias bill would impose the same sanctions, but after a two-year grace period. Then President Reagan could certify that

ness in South Africa.

In the Senate, a bill by William Proxmire (D-WI) would ban new investment, bank loans and krugerrand imports, and would force divestment on U.S. firms that have not complied with the so-called Sullivan principles, a pledge to provide equitable pay and working conditions for black South Africans. Long denounced as window dressing by divestment proponents—and more recently by independent black South African trade unionists—the Sullivan principles

Free South Africa Movement must cope with sudden success

Pretoria had made "significant progress" toward ending apartheid, and stop sanctions altogether. Both the grace period and Reagan's role—shades of his rubber-stamping "human rights progress" in El Salvador—make the bill mostly symbolic.

Other bills offer sanctions individually. U.S. Rep. Howard Berman's (D-CA) legislation would cut off exports of technology for military and police use, including all computers. Three bills introduced in the House by Charles Rangel (D-NY) would prohibit the export of nuclear materials, equipment and technology, stop the importation of uranium and coal from South Africa and Namibia and deny foreign tax credits to U.S. firms paying taxes to South Africa. U.S. Rep. John Conyers' bill would deny federal contracts to firms doing busi-

ness in South Africa.

Two full divestment bills have been introduced in the House, the first time the issue has reached Congress. Ron Dellums' bill would require U.S. firms to divest their South African interests within 180 days of passage; Walter Fauntroy's would let them take two years. But neither bill is given much chance of passage this year.

Divestiture movement.

But outside Congress the divestiture movement is picking up support from state and city legislators. So far five states—Massachusetts, Michigan, Maryland, Nebraska and Connecticut—have divested, to varying extents, public funds from firms doing

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business with South Africa. Twenty-seven states have divestment legislation pending.

Massachusetts law is considered a model by divestiture proponents nationwide, since it mandates full divestment of all state funds. In other states, the preference for symbolism over substance is evident. Connecticut bowed to corporate pressure and only divested from firms not in compliance with the Sullivan principles, as well as those supplying military, police and strategic technology to South Africa.

In Michigan and Maryland, the bills prevent the state from doing business with banks making loans to the South African government. Now divestiture proponents

Although several bills have been introduced in both houses, the Kennedy-Gray Anti-Apartheid Act appears to have the best chance of passing.

there and in other states are trying to prevent bank loans to private South African firms, since private loans account for almost 75 percent of the \$4.5 billion American banks have extended in South Africa.

Dozens of cities and counties are also considering divestment ordinances. New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C. have all passed tough divestment laws, with Boston's, like Massachusetts' state law, considered the model. Oakland's proposed ordinance, sponsored by Wilson Rules, Jr., is even broader. It would force the city to purchase goods and services from businesses without South African ties whenever possible and prevent Oakland from using bond underwriters that have South African investments.

Other impacts are more tangible: At least some corporations seem to be getting the message that investing in South Africa may have a domestic cost. After Boston began implementing its divestment ordinance, the Bank of Boston announced it would no longer make loans to South Africa's public or private sector.

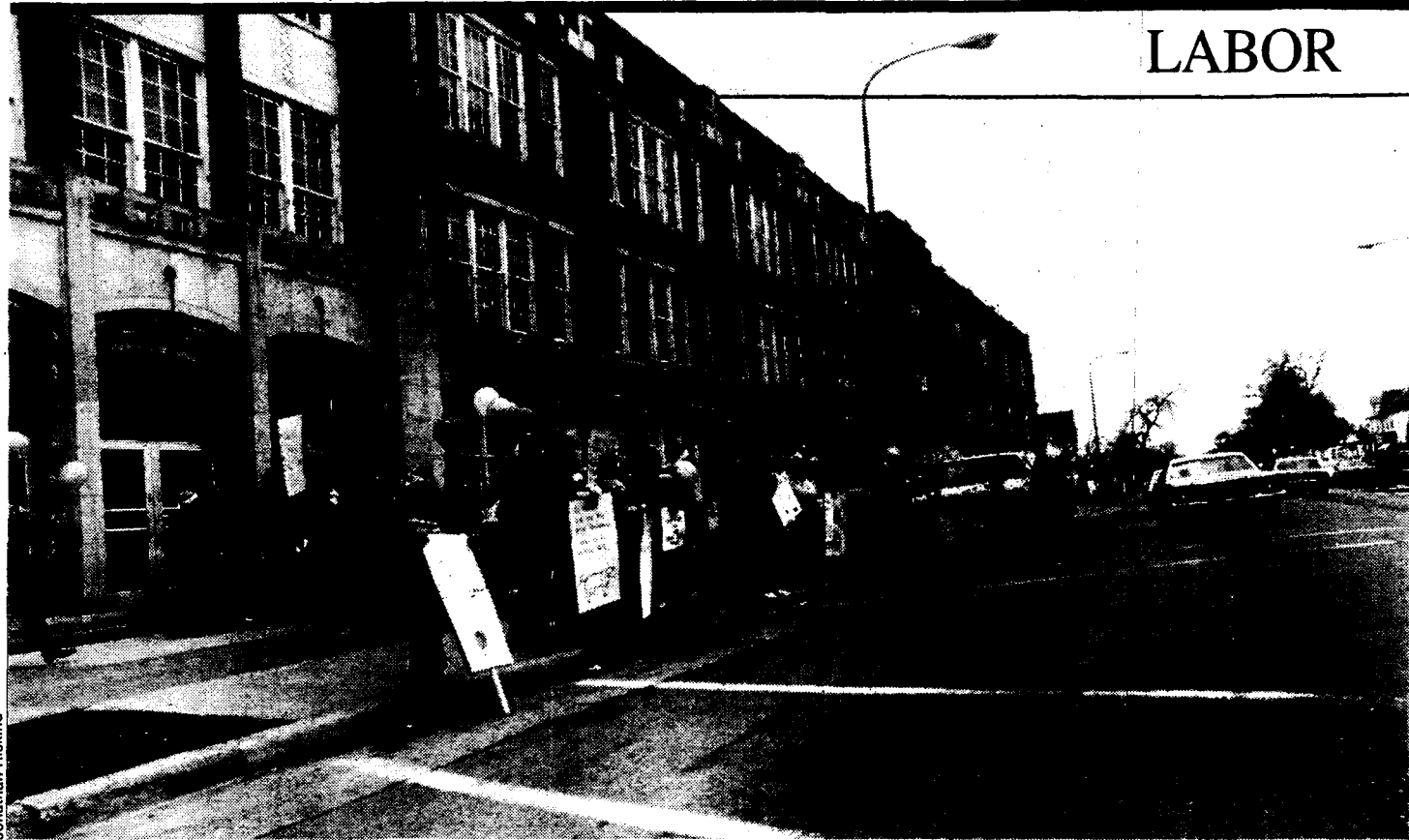
More than 40 firms have pulled out of South Africa in the last decade, including Chrysler, Bethlehem and LTV Steel, AMAX mining and Aetna Life and Casualty. The volatile political climate there is certainly a major cause, but divestiture pressure here cannot be dismissed.

Still, many other corporations have dug their heels in, responding to increased political criticism by touting their role in improving the standard of living for South African blacks. The argument carries increasingly less weight. Only 66,000 blacks are employed by American firms, less than 1 percent of the black workforce there (only 22,000 work for firms complying with the Sullivan principles, an even smaller fraction.) And while U.S. investment climbed 900 percent between 1960 and 1980, a Capetown University study found the number of blacks living on homelands below subsistence level almost doubled in the same period.

"The cutting edge in divestiture is self interest," notes Keith Carson, a Dellums aide. "People are concerned about apartheid, but they're also concerned about their own economic interest. It's a lot for a person to say, 'Redirect my pension money, even though it's comfortable, secure.'" The San Francisco City and County Retirement Board, faced with a ballot measure demanding pension fund divestment that won 63 percent of the vote last November, has refused to implement it, citing "fiduciary responsibility." It announced in mid-March that it would divest from firms who

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LABOR



Hormel local gains support

By Jonathan Riskind

AUSTIN, MN

ON MARCH 24 ABOUT 2,000 BOISTEROUS workers cheered and stamped their feet as they heard plans for phase two of a corporate campaign against the Hormel Company. Other union and community leaders from across Minnesota also addressed the rally, urging the embattled meatpacking union to continue fighting to regain hourly wages of \$10.69.

Labor consultant Ray Rogers, founder of Corporate Campaign Inc., hired by Au-

stin local P-9, is running a campaign that he said will attempt to unlock Hormel's "vulnerable points" and pressure the company into reinstating wages they cut last October to \$8.25 an hour. In recent weeks, however, P-9 has come under mounting criticism from UFCW (United Food and Commercial Workers) international officers and other locals' union leaders, who have asserted that P-9's campaign is isolating the union from the rest of the labor movement. At the March 24 rally P-9 President Jim Guyette said such criticism was "part of ugly internal union politics," and claimed that P-9's campaign has the support

of most rank-and-file union members across Minnesota and the Midwest.

Clearly, the more than two hours of speeches made by other union and community leaders and members from outside Austin was designed to demonstrate that P-9 is not isolated from either the labor movement or the community. St. Paul United Auto Workers (UAW) local President Tom Laney drew sustained applause when he said P-9's struggle against Hormel "is what the American labor movement ought to be about."

Laney pledged his local's support, saying, "We're ready to join you at the First Bank party in April, and we're ready to stay with you until this is won, regardless of what your international says or what our international might say."

Rogers, speaking near the end of the three-and-a-half hour rally in the crowded Austin high school auditorium, also stressed the necessity for maintaining broad-based union and community support during the second phase of his corporate campaign. The first phase, which began last December, included leafletting at Hormel plants and First Bank branches across Minnesota. The campaign also mailed literature designed to inform the general public of P-9's grievances with both Hormel and First Bank, the largest bank in Minnesota. The second phase of Roger's campaign, an escalation of phase one, will culminate in a car caravan to the First Bank annual stockholders' meeting in St. Paul on April 24.

First Bank has been targeted by Rogers because he asserts that, as Hormel's main creditor, First Bank has the power to pressure Hormel into bowing to P-9's demands. First Bank is also vulnerable to pressure, Rogers says, because First Bank and Hormel have interlocking directors on their boards.

"First Bank has the power to tell Hormel to settle, but it won't do that until it is in their best interests to do so," Rogers said.

Rogers told the 1,650 P-9 members "to decide what you want to do with your money. Then we'll get together and coordinate activity."

When questioned by reporters after the rally, Rogers said he is not running an illegal secondary boycott of First Bank. A decision of whether to strike against Hormel, Rogers said, has to wait until an arbitrator rules on the union's right to strike before their current contract runs out in September.

Rogers said that if there is a strike, it will be a short one, and the striking workers will be used to spread P-9's grievances across the Midwest. Rogers will also buy as many single shares of First Bank stock as he can, enabling him to pack the stockholders' meeting with potentially

Union local P-9 is provoking intense discussion about union strategies.

thousands of P-9 members and supporters who will confront the First Bank directors with their demands.

Rogers also planned to organize mass attendance at the Hormel stockholders' meeting in Austin. But after Rogers originally outlined his campaign plan in December, Hormel announced that the company was moving the annual meeting to Atlanta.

Rogers has used the corporate campaign strategy successfully in the past, his most notable success coming in 1975 with the unionization of J.P. Stevens. The Southern textile giant had resisted organization for 17 years until Rogers confronted them with his strategies.

What Rogers says he does is "confront power with power," attempting to find the financial structure behind a corporation and then use that structure against the company. But his approach is not popular with either international or some local union leaders.

Two weeks ago local leaders of other Hormel unions and also Wilson meatpacking company unions sent a letter to newspapers and TV stations expressing concern that they, like the international officials, believe P-9 is running its campaign in isolation from the rest of the labor movement. The letter urged P-9 leaders to give up the corporate campaign and settle for what the rest of the Hormel union settled for last fall.

The rest of the Hormel chain is being paid \$9 an hour and will receive a raise up to \$10 an hour next year. Local P-9 has refused to consider any wage below the \$10.69 an hour they earned before the October 8 wage cut.

Union President Guyette said then the union would not make any more concessions. P-9, he said, has made concessions 16 out of the last 21 years. The union, Guyette said then, could not afford to back down any further.

But the union, obviously stung by such criticism as the Hormel and Wilson locals' letter, spent a good part of the March 24 rally demonstrating the broad union and also community support for their campaign.

UAW President Laney, as well as Duluth Labor World newspaper editor Dick Bolin and farm Groundswell movement leader Norm Larson were among the speakers calling for "solidarity" with P-9's "struggle." "You've got friends in unions across the state, and you've got a friend in me and an outlet for your point of view in the *Labor World* newspaper," Bolin said.

Larson said farmers and workers must recognize common enemies and problems. "We're being threatened today in America by a corporate takeover," Larson said. "But if workers and farmers hang together and hang tough, there isn't anybody or anything that can defeat us."

Rogers and Guyette both said Anderson had been invited to come to Austin April 14 to discuss his concerns with the corporate campaign.

Anderson was out of town and unavailable for comment, but Assistant Director Al Vincent said the international wants P-9 to join the rest of the Hormel chain and reach a settlement with Hormel. "The marketplace today just doesn't dictate \$10.69 an hour," he said.

Guyette said a recent arbitrator's ruling that Hormel must pay \$8.75 an hour—up 50 cents from the current wage of \$8.25 Hormel is paying—will have no effect on the corporate campaign, nor will P-9 consider settling for anything less than \$10.69 an hour.

"In 1984 Hormel made \$29.4 million in profit, acquired new interests, opened up a new factory and reduced their debts on their loans," Guyette said during the rally. He then voiced his confidence in Rogers' strategies and said that he and P-9 have the resolve to stay with the campaign. "Labor today must become a force once again, and must employ new strategies to do so," Guyette said. "We can't negotiate any longer out of fear. We must win back respect by applying strategies such as the corporate campaign."

Jonathan Riskind is a freelance writer based in Minneapolis/St. Paul.

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IN THE WORLD

BRITAIN

Thatcher's support is declining

By Jeremy Harding

LONDON

FEBRUARY MARKED THE 10TH ANNIVERSARY of Margaret Thatcher's accession to the leadership of the Conservative Party. The occasion was spotlighted by several opinion polls whose results back up the view that the Thatcher administration may be in deeper trouble than most observers suspected.

A poll conducted for the *Sunday Times* in early February by Market and Opinion Research International (MORI) put both the Conservatives and the Labor Party's support at 37 percent—a drop of 5 percent for the Conservatives over the last 12 months. This was good news for Labor, above all because the miners' strike was widely believed to have done the party a great deal of harm.

A second MORI poll released on March 1 registered 38 percent support for the Conservatives and 40 percent for Labor. Finally, a sounding by the Guardian Marplan Index, published on March 21, also registered parity between the two major parties, with labor leader Neil Kinnock's popularity increasing slightly. The general upswing in favor of labor was also confirmed by recent ward by-elections in three London boroughs—particularly the Conservative borough of Brent, where on February 21 Labor made a 15.9 percent improvement on its 1982 result.

The polls reflect British sentiments about the miners' strike. What support the government has lost is to a large degree the result of the protracted conflict in Britain's coalfields. In MORI's poll for the *Sunday Times*, only 35 percent of respondents approved of Thatcher's overall performance, and 60 percent believed that her handling of the strike was unsatisfactory. Although she called for reconciliation following the mass return to work on March 5, Thatcher's adamant position on the strike was always well known. Several leading British commentators compared her conduct to that during the Falklands war. But, unlike the Falklands conflict, the end of the miners' strike could never have amounted to symbolic capital for the present government.

The strike and its aftermath speak less of imperial deeds on distant shores than of civil strife at the core of British society. Increasingly, the British appear unwilling to explain this strife in terms of a dwindling national cake, pared away by the effects of world recession. Instead, the divisions racking Britain are becoming a by-word of Thatcherism.

Already there is growing alarm about the extent of polarization across the board. The March 1 MORI poll, commissioned by *Weekend World*, a weekly TV current affairs program, posed several questions to respondents over and above the issue of simple party allegiance. Sixty-seven percent of the MORI sample believed that Britain has become more divided under Thatcher, and of these 67 percent, 79 percent blames the government. When the same 67 percent were asked whether they believed the government should introduce remedial policies to narrow those divisions, 80 percent replied that it should. Fifty-eight percent perceived an increase in class conflict, 65 percent an increase in the differences between North and South of the country and 78 percent a widening gap between rich and poor, while 92 percent admitted to anxiety about the circumstances of the unemployed in Britain.



To the question "How likely is it that the police in our cities will find it impossible to protect our personal safety on the streets in the next few years if present policies continue?" 56 percent replied that it was likely. And to the question "If present policies continue, how likely is it that riots and disturbances in our cities will be common events?" 63 percent replied that it was likely. These responses spotlight the fact that fear is now a major ingredient in public dissent from government policies. Clearly, too, they serve notice that Thatcher's fractious style of populism—which led her last summer to describe striking miners as "the enemy within"—cuts less ice than it did when the "enemy" could furnish an overseas war to boost the morale of a nation in decline.

The Ponting case.

Ironically, the "Falklands factor," which won the Thatcher administration a decisive victory in the general election of 1983, has returned to add to Thatcher's problems in recent weeks. The trial of Clive Ponting, a senior civil servant who leaked information on the sinking of the Argentine cruiser *General Belgrano* to Labor Member of Parliament Tam Dalyell, was a bitter defeat for the government. The real issue raised by the trial, which ended on February 11, was not the fate of the *Belgrano* but the nature and extent of official secrecy in Britain, where the very notion of open government is regarded by many ministers as seditious in itself.

The web of fabrications spun by Whitehall in order to conceal the confusion and deceit surrounding the sinking of the *Belgrano* off the Malvinas Islands on May

2, 1982, may never disintegrate entirely. But it is known that ministers at various times misled Parliament and the public about the course of the cruiser prior to engagement and about the time at which it was first sighted. Contradictory official accounts concerning the source of authority for the attack emerged long ago and there is nothing new in the fact that the rules of engagement governing the British task force in the South Atlantic were hurriedly changed in order to enable the sinking. But it is the decision to prosecute Clive Ponting under Section Two of the Official Secrets Act and the outcome of the trial that have tarnished the Thatcher administration's image.

The Official Secrets Act became law in 1911. Under Section Two of the Act official

There's growing alarm about polarization in Britain.

information may only be disclosed by civil servants to authorized persons and those "to whom it is in the interest of the state (their) duty to communicate it." Ponting's leak to Tam Dalyell—who believes that the *Belgrano* sinking was intended to scotch a peace plan being drawn up in Lima at the time—was regarded as a breach of Section Two. Since the judge presiding over the Ponting trial had advised that "the interest of the state" must be taken to mean the interest of the government of the day, he virtually instructed the jury to find against Ponting. Thus, its verdict of not guilty was

widely understood as a rejection of the Official Secrets Act and was also seen as a defiant response to the suggestion that the Thatcher administration is a transcendent force enshrining the essence of the British state.

Although the Conservative government tried unsuccessfully to replace the Official Secrets Act in 1979 with the Protection of Information Bill, a none-too-liberal alternative, Thatcher has rejected calls for a genuine Freedom of Information Act. Meanwhile, official secrecy is being invoked with increasing frequency.

Surveillance concerns.

Another potentially damaging item for the Thatcher government cropped up in early March in the form of a television documentary on the activities of MI5, a department of Britain's intelligence services. The documentary, made for Channel Four Television—an independent channel—involved allegations by former MI5 personnel that the agency had tapped the phones of leading Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) members and trade unionists. The Independent Broadcasting Authority, a guidance body for commercial television, feared legal repercussions would follow if the program aired. Thus a ban was imposed until the attorney general announced on March 5 that there would be no proceedings against Cathy Massiter, a former MI5 employee whose testimony constitutes the bulk of the program. Charges in this case would also have been brought under the Official Secrets Act.

The program finally went ahead on March 8, following the hasty appearance of an anodyne official report to the effect that no wire tapping by MI5 had been "unauthorized." The program, coupled with the government's problems over an Interception of Communications Bill in the House of Commons, has deepened anxieties about surveillance in Britain.

Debate in Parliament on telephone tapping has already put pressure on the government to inaugurate a scrutiny committee that would monitor the conduct of the security services. But this has been resisted by Home Secretary Leon Brittan, who announced on March 12 that he was happy with MI5's procedures. The Metropolitan Police will be looking into charges levelled at MI5 by the Channel Four program. But it is extremely unlikely that their findings will differ substantially from the pre-emptive verdict of the home secretary in favor of the agency.

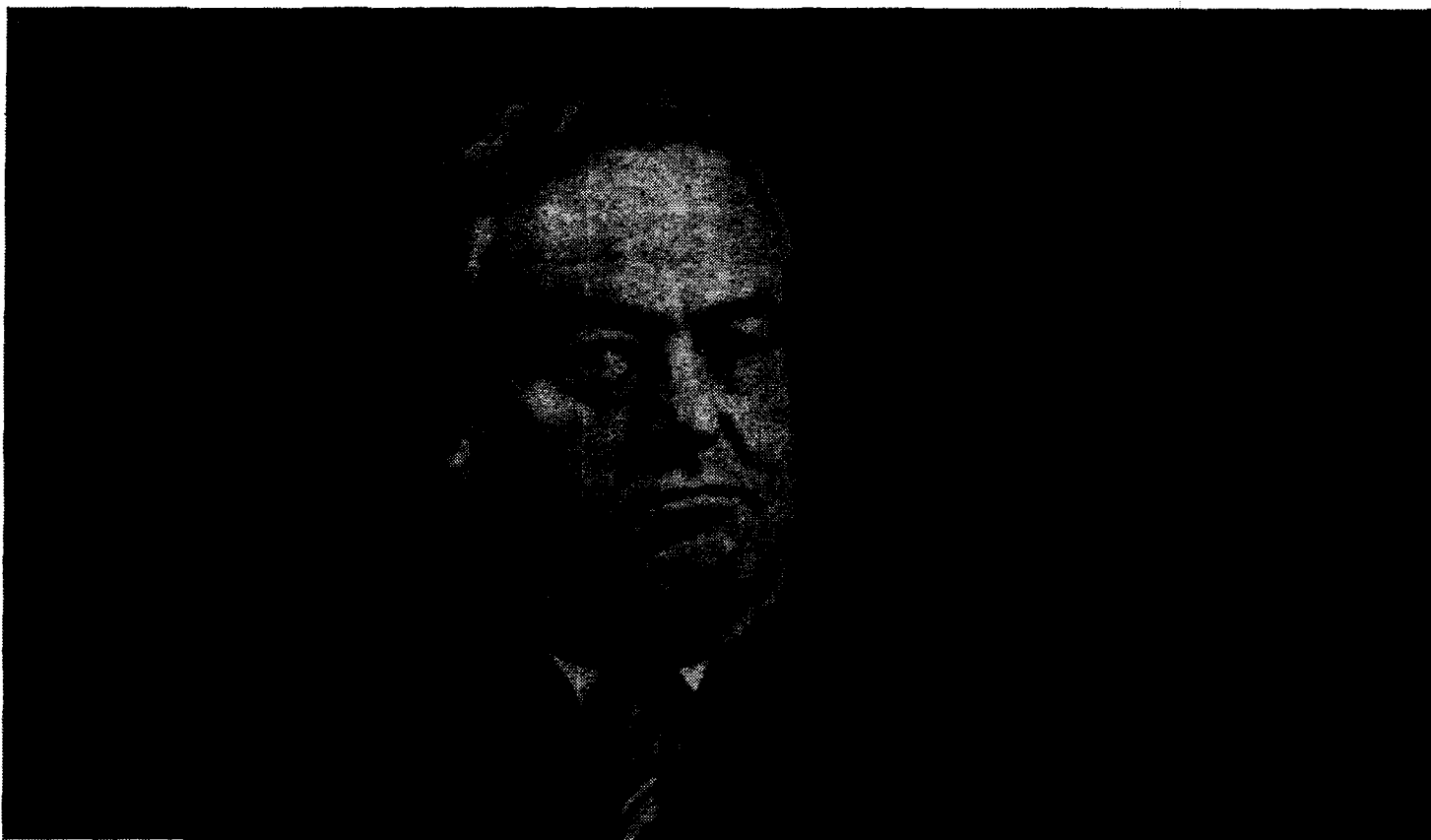
Although adverse publicity for the government over wire-tapping and clandestinity has undoubtedly left its mark, it may play a less decisive role when it comes to counting heads. Stress in the creaking UK economy is likely to be a more damaging factor over the next few months as Britain's industrial base slides into further decay with the start of a new fiscal year. The government's 1985-86 budget, released on March 19, has already come under fire for its failure to tackle unemployment seriously and prompted yet another poll giving a clear 6.5 lead to Labor over the Conservatives.

Growing signs of a strong state in Britain are undeniable, however. Bolstering the state's apparatus may be seen as a necessary counterpart to the divisive effects of the government's own policies—effects that are all too evident to MORI respondents who foresee violence and strife in Britain if no major policy changes. But whether the fears of those respondents are allayed by the spectacle of an administration presiding over wire-tapping and invoking official secrecy at every turn is another matter. In any case, their misgivings will make the radical program of Margaret Thatcher and her followers progressively harder to complete.

Jeremy Harding reports regularly for *In These Times* from London.

FRANCE

Le Pen: Resurgent fascism?



Nogues

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

A POLITICAL VACUUM HAS DEVELOPED in France, and Jean-Marie Le Pen is filling it. There is irony in the way the recent cantonal elections, up graded by the Socialist government with the intention of decentralizing and reinvigorating French democracy, were totally dominated by Le Pen.

Yet after scoring 8.69 percent of the vote in the first round, Le Pen's National Front emerged from the March 17 second round with only one of the thousands of obscure local council seats at stake in these elections whose main interest was to foreshadow possible trends for next year's national assembly elections.

Le Pen's real achievement is that his National Front has moved the extreme right in France from its marginal existence as several squabbling conspiracies into the mainstream of political life with media coverage, candidates in elections and, above all, growing local militant organizations, especially in the cities of southern France where Le Pen's strongest natural constituency is made up of repatriated European settlers, the *pieds noirs*, from Algeria. Having lost their former privileged position in Algeria, the *pieds noirs* often feel a special resentment at the presence of Algerian immigrant workers in France that goes beyond the usual xenophobia.

Le Pen's recent campaigns have been based heavily on resentment of Arab immigrants, but his appeal and program go far beyond simple dislike of strangers. Anti-Arab racism is not the racism of envy, like anti-Semitism (also present in the National Front, although Le Pen himself has been steering clear of anti-Semitic statements), but the racism of aggressive European superiority in its dealings with colonized peoples. It is being revived less by the poverty of Le Pen's supporters (mostly people who are doing well despite the economic crisis, and indeed include titled members of old aristocratic families) than by the poverty of the decolonized Third World. The deepening world crisis—with its specter of millions of starving Africans, crowding, perhaps, toward the green fertile lands of Europe—is reviving the old colonialist sense of superiority in all its aggressive self-assertion.

Le Pen is not just a French problem. His biggest success so far was his 11 percent score in the European Parliamentary elections last June, which gave the National Front 10 seats in the Europarlament and

Le Pen the chairmanship of the new group of European Rights, filled out by five neo-fascists from the Italian Social Movement (MSI) and a Greek admirer of the defunct colonels' dictatorship. Alarmed by this unexpected intrusion, the Socialists in the Europarlament succeeded in setting up a Committee of Inquiry into the Rise of Fascism and Racism in Europe chaired by a British Laborite, Glyn Ford.

The Committee, like the Europarlament itself, is a tower of Babel where Le Pen has not only critics but comrades from his own group and discreet sympathizers such as the very conservative Bavarian Christian Democrat Otto von Hapsburg. The general approach of the conservatives on the committee is to shift the labels "fascist" and "racist" to the "extreme left," to rejecting any coherent attempt at social and economic analysis of historical developments.

Rise of fascism and racism.

On the left, diagnosis of the "rise of fascism and racism" begins with social and economic factors that bear disturbing resemblance to Germany leading up to Nazism: an economic crisis marked by deepening unemployment, with no end in sight. At the Europarlamentary inquiry in Brussels, Belgian Marxist scholar Ernest Mandel observed that, so far, the economic crisis is less deep than in 1929-33, but he predicted a long period of growing unemployment, impoverishment and desperation. He warned that in a society based on the power of money, in a period of crisis some sectors of big business channel more money to radical right and fascist groups, especially to any that show ability to attract mass support.

Mandel recalled that the origins of contemporary nationalism and racism are in the imperial era, when they were used to justify the brutal treatment of colonized people before turning such methods on the weaker classes in Europe itself. Today in France and some other European countries, he said, anti-Arab feelings are more open and widespread than anti-Semitism was in pre-Hitler Germany, where it was deliberately stirred up and exploited for political reasons.

It is significant that Le Pen's supporters were not at all disturbed by *Liberation's* sensational February 12 issue citing five Algerians who confirmed longstanding reports that Lt. Jean-Marie Le Pen supervised and took part in torture of prisoners during a tour of duty as interrogation officer in Algiers in early 1957. Over the years, Le Pen has responded inconsistently but with

Jean-Marie Le Pen has unified France's right wing.

little embarrassment to the accusations. Since any crimes committed during the Algerian war are covered by amnesty, it is Le Pen's accusers and not Le Pen who risk legal prosecution.

Rather than weakening Le Pen, *Liberation's* exposé may have inadvertently contributed to the breakdown of a certain consensus rooted in the French Resistance that has been the main ideological obstacle to the rise of the far right. For a long time, Europe has remembered that in all of occupied Europe, the Gestapo described members of the Resistance as "terrorists." This memory and this parallel were strong in the minds of the French intellectuals who opposed French torture of Algerian rebels.

The Algerians interviewed by *Liberation* were all admitted "terrorists," that is, members of the Algerian National Liberation Front, who had been involved in planting bombs against the white settler population. *Liberation* recalled that Lt. Le Pen and his fellow interrogators were operating with the blessings of his division chaplain.

Le Pen's military policy is closest to what Reaganites want for Europe.

Le Pen is a practicing Catholic with a preference for the Latin mass. He believes the "schools should be separated from the state" and private schools should both compete and be subsidized, to allow a natural aristocracy to arise according to its merits.

In France, the rise of Le Pen is symptomatic of the disintegration of the Gaullist consensus, which is the translation in domestic French political terms of the historic compromise between Soviet Communism and Anglo-American liberal capitalism in their alliance to defeat Nazi Germany. In 1940, most French conservatives were ready to collaborate, if not directly with Nazi Germany at least with Pétain's Vichy regime and its "soft" fascism based on the values of "family, work, fatherland" (replacing "liberty, equality, brotherhood"). But by the end of the war, Nazism was stigmatized the worst of all evils, and all forms of fascism with it. De Gaulle provided a face-saving way for the French right, or much of it, to come out on the side of the victorious Allies, alongside the Communists who had been

the most active part of the actual Resistance to Nazi occupation.

The disintegration of the Gaullist consensus got underway in the '70s during the presidency of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, and has been accelerated by obsessive concentration on Soviet misdeeds in Poland, Afghanistan and elsewhere. In France today, the anti-Communist mood is so strong that the far right that always agreed with Nazi suppression of the Communist-led Resistance—but which for a long time scarcely dared say so in public—is now able to make a bid to start equating torture with terrorism, and even to start rehabilitating the former as the lesser evil.

Le Pen says that the current attacks on him for torturing prisoners in Algeria are part of a plot to make the police feel guilty and thus weaken their response to "the terrorist offensive currently threatening Europe." What "terrorist offensive" is that? Is it the one being cooked up by neo-fascist sectors of the secret police (as in Italy) to justify a rightist takeover, or could it be the foreseeable resistance to the social order Le Pen and his friends hope to establish?

Le Pen's political career began in 1955, when the right-wing populist Pierre Poujade was looking for young military officers to fill out his candidate list of disgruntled shopkeepers. Thus in January 1956, Le Pen became the youngest member of the National Assembly. Finding Poujade too soft on Algeria, he left for his tour of duty as interrogation officer in 1957 before being re-elected to the National Assembly in November 1958 on the ticket of the National Center of Independents and Peasants (CNI)—a party that to this day takes in extreme right-wingers when they start to want to look more mellow and centrist.

It is noteworthy that Le Pen was always primarily interested in military matters, especially concerning France's overseas colonies. In 1960, Le Pen broke with the rest of the right because he opposed de Gaulle's policy of withdrawal from NATO. Instead of an independent nuclear deterrent, Le Pen would have preferred an ultra-modern conventional Western European force inside NATO. By coincidence, Le Pen has arrived in the European Parliament just when such a European NATO force is being strongly promoted by the Pentagon.

The National Front calls for a vigorous foreign and defense policy directed against the Third World threat. Military, like civilian power, should be entrusted to an elite whose job it will be to combat the "Marxist peril" both at home and abroad. The death penalty should be restored and applied to "political terrorists."

Le Pen's nationalism is not exclusively French. Indeed, rightist nationalism in Europe today is above all *European* or "Western." Again, this is not altogether new. The Nazi ideal was to restore Europe's strength for its worldwide role of domination (in alliance with the Japanese in Asia), and fascists in other European countries were willing to let the reputedly more vigorous and capable Germans take the lead in this joint endeavor.

What is new today is that the total defeat of American liberalism in U.S. foreign policy has removed the American restraining factor, the remnant of the World War II historic compromise, from the European far right.

Le Pen's military policy is the closest thing around today to what the Reagan administration would like to see in Europe. Le Pen wants a combined European intervention force, "a sort of Task Force whose objective would be to protect the European Community's vital interests, notably to defend sea and air links and protect our raw material and energy supplies."

Such a hierarchic, authoritarian, militaristic future for Europe is favored today by only a small minority. Yet it is a vision that can be described and understood in the terms of today's environment dominated by high-tech weapons, money, biological manipulation and the sado-masochistic fantasies of science fiction. The contrary vision of a society based on generous encouragement and peaceful kindness gets ever harder to imagine. ■

S. Security

Continued from page 3

can decide to work a shortened workweek instead of going from full-time to full retirement in one step.

- Expand the system to provide universal coverage, which would add significantly to revenues and also broaden the range of benefits for those now outside the system.

- Link COLAs to the lowest element in the wage-price relationship.

- Tax more of the benefits of the wealthier retirees and increase benefits for the neediest. In recent years a large number of the elderly have seen unprecedented economic success.

- Eliminate or drastically reduce benefits to workers who retire at age 62.

- Gradually raise the payroll tax to a maximum of 18 percent.

Laura Fiori, one of the leading experts in the field, said the current debate regarding the future of Social Security is focusing on actions that would have the effect of "lowering the workers' paychecks and the elderly's benefit checks." Many senior citizen groups, understandably averse to any lessening of benefits, urge that the government find alternative ways to raise revenues for Social Security, if payroll taxes prove inadequate to fund the system. For them, Social Security is an intergenerational commitment that must be honored at all costs.

The budget deficit.

Since Social Security is financed by a separate fund, many have argued that the system's outlays have no effect on the general budget deficit and thus Congress should keep its hands off Social Security while attempting budget reductions. Reagan himself made that point in his first post-inaugural news conference when he said, "If Social Security spending were reduced, you could not take the money saved and use it

to fund some other program." The trust fund is separate, the president said.

But according to Alice Rivlin, former director of the Congressional Budget Office, reducing the system's expenditures would help reduce the overall budget deficit. Referring to the Senate Budget Committee's plan to freeze COLAs, Rivlin said, "If we skip the cost-of-living adjustments, we build up the surplus in the Social Security trust fund a little faster and that would reduce the deficit."

Expenditures for Social Security are listed in the budget with other outlays, and Social Security receipts are listed with other receipts, Rivlin noted. The program has been a part of the "unified budget" since fiscal year 1979 and it will remain so until it's separated in October 1992.

Others, including some members of Reagan's National Commission on Social Security Reform, contend a cut in COLAs would have no real effect on the budget deficit.

What worries most observers familiar with the system is not its relationship to the various expediencies of the day, but the ability of Social Security to fulfill its obligation to future retirees.

Economist Horace Brock, president of Strategic Economic Divisions, Inc., believes the system has "institutionalized pickpocketing of tomorrow's elderly. Under the present system and under reasonable assumptions for the future of the U.S. economy," Brock said, "today's elderly will do five times better from Social Security than Baby Boom retirees."

The difference of opinion has sometimes caused tension in the anti-apartheid ranks. An AFL-CIO conference on South African labor drew criticism from black South African trade unionists in attendance (*In These Times*, Jan. 23) at least partly because of historic suspicion of CIA and State Department ties with the federations' Afro-American Labor Center. But the friction was also caused by the federation's stance toward divestment. Leon Sullivan, a General Motors board member and author of the Sullivan principles, was featured prominently, as was a Mobil Oil official who heads up the corporate campaign for the Sullivan guidelines.

Then in early March, the New York Labor Committee Against Apartheid spon-

sored its own South African labor conference, endorsed by most liberal-left unions, including AFSCME, the UAW, ACTWU, the Hospital workers and the United Mine-workers. AFL-CIO officials were invited, but declined to attend, and black South African Emma Mashinini of the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers expressed public disappointment that the federation had sent neither representatives nor solidarity greetings.

Boyer minimizes the conflict, however. "The AFL-CIO advises, but the individual unions carry out their own policy," he notes, and that usually has meant working with local divestment groups. He sees labor liberalizing its stance in response to more outspoken pro-divestiture statements by South African unionists.

Of course, as black resistance to the Botha regime strengthens and inevitably becomes more violent, that will likely produce more strains within the movement, between those who support the insurgents and those who want to keep their distance. Already conservative unionists, most notably Albert Shanker of the American Federation of Teachers, have criticized the AFL-CIO's cooperation with TransAfrica because of the black lobbying group's past support for non-aligned socialists such as Jamaica's Michael Manley and Grenada's Maurice Bishop.

Robinson acknowledges the dilemma. "That's why it's important that this movement developed," he told *In These Times*, "before more people over there were provoked to take up arms."

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S. Africa

Continued from page 5

wouldn't adopt the Sullivan principles.

In countering those economic concerns organized labor's support has been crucial to the divestment movement around the country. In Michigan, Massachusetts, New York and Boston union support was particularly key, notes Sandy Boyer of the New York Labor Committee Against Apartheid. Most of the large internationals, especially in the public sector, support divestment, but the AFL-CIO remains unswayed.

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Lebanese Shi'ites protest the destruction of their homes by Israeli armed forces.

LEBANON

Israel's brutal policy is forcing Shi'ite resettlement

By Jim Yamin

SIDON, LEBANON

AT FIRST GLANCE THE RECENT fighting near this southern city appears to represent simply another violent spasm of Lebanon's 10-year civil war. Yet a more careful look at the impact of Israel's "Iron Fist" policy, initiated February 20, suggests these new battles may be part of a larger strategy.

Israel's new policy of stepped-up repression against Shi'ite Muslim civilians is rearranging the religious and political demographics of south Lebanon. Tens of thousands of impoverished Shi'ite Muslims are fleeing the region. At the same time, pro-Israeli Christians are being induced to settle in areas held by Israeli-backed Christian militias.

The depopulation of southern Shi'ite villages is inflicting deep scars on Lebanon's poorest and largest sect. Moreover, Israel's tactics are threatening whatever delicate prospects exist for uniting Lebanon's various communities.

Since Lebanon's founding as an independent state in 1943, access to political power, developmental resources and revenues, as well as the availability of human services, have been institutionalized on the basis of religious sectarian or "confessional" affiliation. More than 10 years of civil war have been waged against these confessional structures that facilitate the exploitation of a disenfranchised majority by a privileged minority.

Israel is exploiting these volatile confessional traditions to serve its strategic interests. The current policy against Shi'ite villages, forcing the exodus of this community, is a bid to create a new demographic reality that would reinforce the confessional structures that have fueled Lebanon's internal war.

Displacement through terror.

The official reason for Israel's current policy is to halt increasing guerrilla attacks by the Lebanese against the Israeli Defense Force (IDF). Yet according to combined tallies of Agence France Presse and the As-

sociated Press, at least 180 military operations were launched against the IDF during the first month of implementation of "Iron Fist," compared to a monthly average of about 50 in 1984. During a two-week period in mid-March, 17 IDF soldiers were killed. Thus contrary to Israel's stated objectives, the occupation policy is provoking more Lebanese resistance attacks.

Families can be seen trekking over hills and through citrus groves in an exodus out of the occupied region from the village of Qassmieh and across the Litani river, the only exit route civilians are allowed to use. Two-thirds of the population of Sir el Gharbiyeh recently fled, the village mukhtar said. He also reported that nearly half the population of dozens of other villages in the general Tyre-Nabatiyeh region have also fled their homes.

Village raids are the primary means by which Israel's policy is implemented. During the morning villages are usually stormed by scores of armored vehicles and troops that fire indiscriminately. Then males between the ages of 14 and 60 are rounded up.

Subsequent civilian interrogations include beatings, deprivation of food and water, and forced kneeling or standing for 12 to 72 hours outdoors, according to villagers who remained after the roundups. Many civilians are arrested during the roundups, and prisoners are held in detention centers where even the International Red Cross is not allowed access, the villagers said.

Villagers in Sir el Gharbiyeh described a February 23 IDF raid this way: After all the men in the village were rounded up, seven young detainees were singled out. According to the witnesses, the seven were machine-gunned in the legs, and two of them were subsequently bayoneted in the abdomen. One of the two, 17-year-old Youssef Mohammed Diaq, called out for water. IDF troops responded by picking him up by his feet and immersing him head-first in a village water catchment basin until he drowned. The remaining five, they said, were allowed to bleed to death while the rest of the detainees watched.

After the raids, homes are frequently

bulldozed or dynamited. One such operation took place in Bazourieh in late February while French contingent UNIFIL troops stood by. Villagers in Aarab Salim, interviewed the first day following the lifting of a 10-day siege, said that 14 houses had been bulldozed, one of them by mistake. Villagers said their furniture had been smashed, their money stolen or torn into shreds and their large household stores of flour, rice, beans and grains dumped together.

Residents of the South have learned the hard way that normal civilian movement within the Israeli-occupied region can cost them their lives. The chief administrator of Nabatiyeh's only hospital showed several medical records documenting instances of civilians being fired upon by IDF troops.

On February 2, as 29-year-old Zeinab Abu Ahmed was on her way to the Secours Populaire hospital in Nabatiyeh to give birth to a baby, her car was fired upon without warning or provocation by an Israeli foot patrol. The woman and her child were both killed. Three days later, four-year-old Hassan Ayash was shot in the back at 9:00 a.m. while sitting in his father's parked car not far from an IDF checkpoint.

By the time the IDF officially announced a dusk-to-dawn curfew and bans on motorcycles and single passenger cars on February 20, roads between villages through-

The policy is a bid to create a new demographic reality in southern Lebanon.

out the hinterland of the South were already deserted. The normally bustling Nabatiyeh and Tyre now resemble ghost towns during the day, since villagers in the surrounding regions as well as residents of those cities are afraid to leave their homes.

Another reason residents are fleeing the South is that the IDF has attacked non-sectarian Lebanese human service organizations that serve the poorest and most neglected segments of the population in their areas. The Nabatiyeh office of Mouvement Social, a social and medical service agency with centers throughout Lebanon, was ransacked three times and bombed once last year. Secours Populaire, another medical service agency that works with the government Ministry of Public Health, operates a hospital in Nabatiyeh that has been the target of threats and harassments. Staff there described a steady pattern of obstruction of the hospital's services. The hospital director, Dr. Hikmat Amin, said he was threatened three times in the last nine months and his car was blown up.

Construction of a new 75-bed hospital was completed nine months ago, but the IDF has prohibited its opening for service to the public, according to Amin. Two doctors and seven nurses have been arrested in the last nine months for unspecified reasons. For more than a year Secours Populaire has not been allowed to operate mobile clinics to outlying villages.

Rounding up the Christians.

Mass desertions of Shi'ite Muslim soldiers from the Israeli-backed South Lebanon Army have cut that force's manpower by an estimated 25 percent, assuring that the composition of present and future Israeli proxy militias in Lebanon will be almost entirely Christian.

One Christian source revealed an effort last December to enlarge by 2,000 the number of Christian militiamen mobilized to fight in the South. He said that 150 young men were recruited by the right-wing Christian Phalange Party from his village in the Metn mountains northeast of Beirut. Similar numbers, he said, were also being recruited from other surrounding Christian villages.

It is no coincidence that an uprising within the Phalangist Party led by right-wing military leader Samir Geagea occurred recently, leading to bitter fighting on the outskirts of Sidon. Geagea has consistently advocated the cantonization of Lebanon, whereby different Lebanese sects would live in officially segregated areas from each other. His long-standing close ties with Israel are well known, and his narrow popular base within Lebanon is limited to militantly right-wing youth.

In the name of "defending" Christian homes, Geagea is provoking battles between his Lebanese Forces militia and the combined forces of the Lebanese Army, nationalist opposition militias and Palestinians. Observers believe Geagea is playing into Israel's hands in its efforts to foster an atmosphere of increased mistrust and antagonism between confessional groups. If these dynamics can be exploited by Israel and its increasingly isolated Lebanese allies, the migration of Christians into the South becomes an easier task.

Thus the stage is set for a profound test of Lebanese popular will. Israel and its right-wing Christian allies seek to split the demographics as well as the spirit of the country along confessional lines. Meanwhile, Lebanese resistance forces embody a renewed aim to unite all Lebanese sects with a vision toward the eventual reunification of the war-torn country.

It should become clear during the next several months which of these forces will prevail. The deployment of United Nations peace-keeping forces southward to the international border, along with units of the Lebanese Army, would represent an interim step toward bringing security to the region.

Jim Yamin is the Mideast Program Officer for Grassroots International, an independent, non-profit relief and development agency that supports projects in Lebanon and the Occupied Territories. He recently returned from a 10-week trip to Lebanon.

NICARAGUA

Thousands evacuated from war zone

By William Gasperini

MANAGUA

LAST MONTH THE NICARAGUAN government began evacuating 40,000 people from combat areas in the country's northern region. Government officials said the relocation will remove supports for the U.S.-backed *contras* and allow Sandinista forces to use Soviet-built 122 caliber "OBUS" mortars and MI24 helicopters in their efforts to dislodge *contras* from key areas. Certain regions will become "free fire" zones.

The evacuation is taking place in the region where an estimated 7,000 *contras* have been fighting the Sandinista government for three years. While many refugees have fled from areas affected by the war on their own, others have left only after the army has instructed them to do so. A dozen state ministries and other organizations, including the Red Cross, are attending to the relief needs of those evacuated while planning long-term housing.

The two-year program is expected to cost \$32 million, according to Eduardo Bernheim, director of relief efforts in the Matagalpa region. Other affected areas are in Jinotega, Madriz and Nueva Segovia provinces. The four provinces account for 55 percent of Nicaragua's export production.

"Without civilians we will know that anything moving out there is the enemy," a Sandinista soldier said. Moreover, officials said, moving people out of conflicted regions will make it more difficult for the *contras* to continue fighting.

"The *contras* force *campesinos* to give them food and in some cases people aide them voluntarily," said Sergio Gaitan, coordinator of one resettlement. "Without that support, they will either starve, give up or head back to Honduras. By removing this 'social base,' we hope to make the *contras* come into the open."

Most refugees interviewed by *In These Times* at three resettlement locations said that, although they knew it was dangerous to live in a combat area, they would not have left the area if they had not been forced. The move happened so quickly that most refugees had to swap with relatives or friends in already existing houses while awaiting government-sponsored housing, which will take months to complete. In some cases, three or four families have crowded into small huts.

"We're really not content here, sleeping on the dirt floor and having little to eat," said Benjamin Flores, a refugee in Las Colinas, located 150 miles north of Managua. "But the situation back in our home was very bad. Mortars would fall day and night, and we never knew what was coming."

Now living 15 miles from their former home, Flores and his family of eight left behind most of their possessions and the bulk of the coffee, beans and vegetables that their small farm produced.

On a nearby hillside, 20 wooden frames with corrugated zinc roofing mark a new housing project for Flores and other refugees in the region. Seventy-two houses are scheduled to be built in the settlement over the next several months. The government has promised that each family will receive plots of land equal to what they lost. Some refugees have already joined existing cooperatives, according to regional coordinator Gaitan.

"Many who have come resent joining cooperatives, as they see these are key targets of the *contras*," he said. "So we do not force them. They receive individual plots if that is what they prefer. Over time

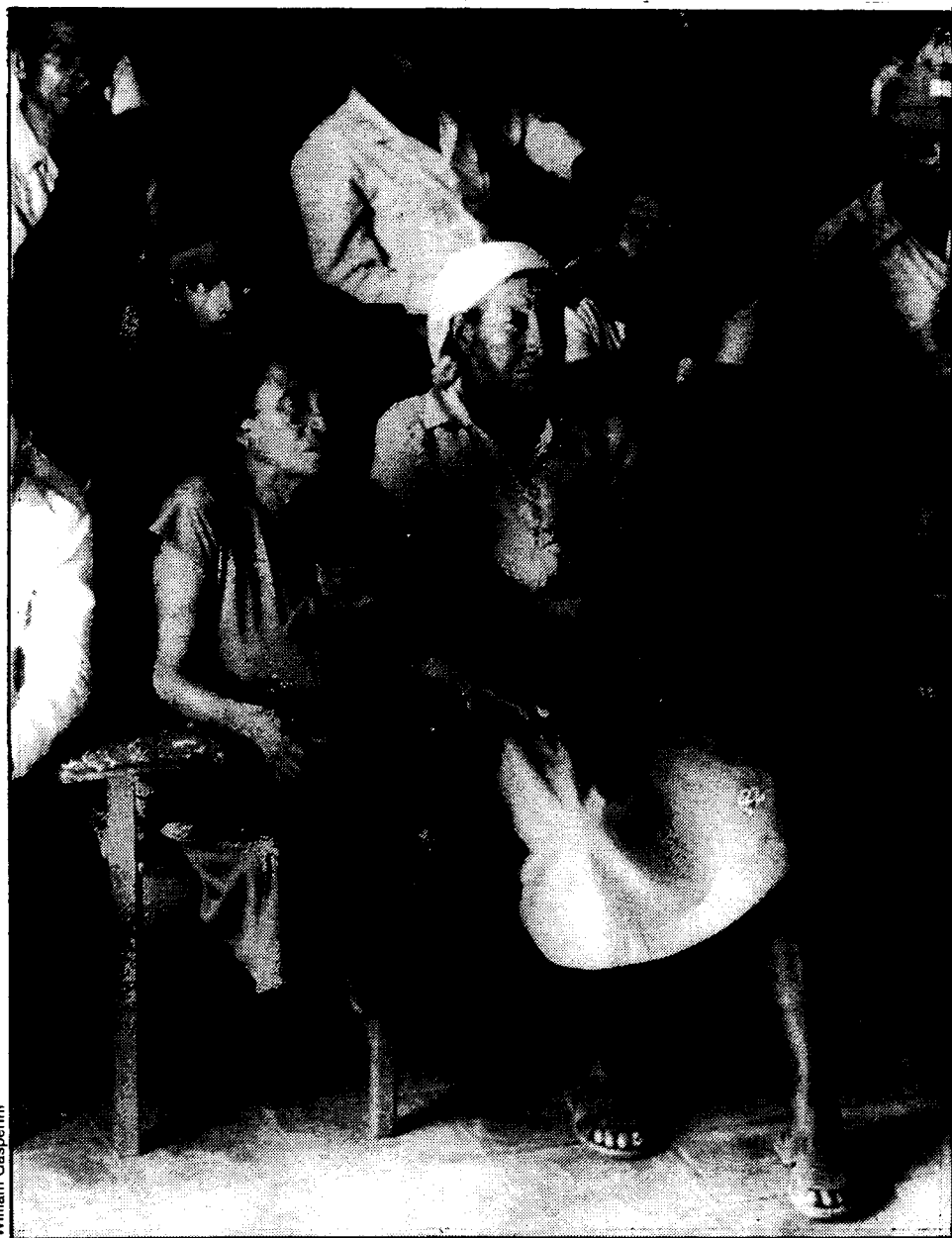
we hope they will see the benefits of belonging to a cooperative, as that is a more efficient way to share scarce resources such as machinery." He said if the war ends and displaced persons decide to move back to their original homes, they will be able to sell the land or their shares in a cooperative.

The government ministries and independent organizations providing help to the displaced persons are coordinated by the Nicaraguan Social Services Institute (INSSBI). The resettlement is proceeding in two stages, according to INSSBI Finance Director Miriam Lazo. Immediate food and clothing aid will be followed by housing and other long-term services, she said.

"We really don't have the economic resources to carry out a program on this scale," Lazo said. "But the war imposes this situation on us. The *campesinos* are the essence of Nicaragua, and we must do everything possible to meet their needs. Moving people from their homes is like pulling their hearts out. This situation is tragic, but real."

Military officials claimed that they have learned from mistakes made during the 1982 evacuation, when the Sandinista army moved 10,000 Miskito and Sumu Indians from their border villages along the Coco region. At that time Sandinista troops destroyed homes and crops to prevent the *contras* from using them. However, the move drew domestic and international criticism.

During the current evacuation soldiers reportedly burned approximately 60 homes after removing their residents. *Contras* had occupied a valley close to San Juan de Limay in Esteli province for several months and enjoyed at least tacit support from the local population. In December and January *contras* ambushed vehicles along a road in the area, killing 47 people, most of them civilians. When government troops finally dislodged the *contras*, 27 valley residents



Miskito Indians were the first to face mass evacuations.

were arrested for collaborating with the *contras*.

Several of the prisoners, who have since been released, admitted to helping the *contras*. Most said, however, that they had no choice. "What does one do when an armed soldier comes to your home demanding food?" said Ernesto Calderon, one of those arrested.

An army official acknowledged the difficult position peasants are in, but emphasized that helping the *contras* is a crime. "This is one major reason for the evacuation, as people will no longer be present in isolated places to give aide to the mer-

cenaries," said Horacio Lander on the Esteli command post.

While the current evacuation may bring long-term benefits, most refugees are caught in the immediate dislocation caused by the uprooting. Seventy-eight-year-old Natividad Pineda had to leave the 10-acre farm his family has owned since the 1890s. He acknowledged the efforts local authorities are making to provide him with a new home, but said things would not be the same. "Now I feel like a passenger instead of the driver," he said.

William Gasperini works at a research institute in Nicaragua.

Volunteer pickers save coffee harvest

"This is a new victory for the people of Nicaragua. In the face of great danger you have helped keep the country going, for without your sacrifice and hard work *la rojita* would be lying on the ground instead of bringing in foreign exchange."

With those words, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega recently welcomed thousands of volunteer coffee pickers back from the mountains in the northern city of Matagalpa, capital of the country's main coffee-growing region. Many of those present were students and office workers from state ministries who spent from a week to three months picking the red beans (*la rojita*) in lieu of performing their regular jobs. The volunteers made up for a critical labor shortage produced by the U.S.-backed *contra* war and the fact that traditional migrant workers now have their own lands as a result of the revolution.

Ortega claimed 88 percent of the crop in Matagalpa had been picked, despite *contra* efforts to disrupt the harvest. Although it appears that his figures are high, results were better than expected, according to many observers, particularly in those regions hardest hit by the war.

With an initial goal of 1.05 million quintals (one quintal equals 100 pounds), 973,198 had been picked as of March 16, according to Henry Matus of the Agrarian Reform Ministry. The harvest continued into late March and thus the total crop may reach one million quintals, still below last year's 1.07 million.

A lack of spare parts, gasoline and espe-

cially truck tires caused by the country's critical shortage of foreign exchange also had a large impact on the harvest, Matus said. Idle trucks lessened the quality of the coffee as beans overripened before they could be processed.

Coffee is primarily grown in four of Nicaragua's nine "regions," two of which are the areas most affected by the war. The Matagalpa-Jinotega region, accounting for three-fourths of the total harvest, has reached 80 percent of its 700,000-quintal goal. The northern Segovias region may attain 70 percent of its 105,000-quintal target.

By contrast, the harvest is over in the other two regions, the area near Managua and the hills south of the capital (Carazo, Masaya, Granada). Over 90 percent of the total crop has been picked in these areas untouched directly by the war; together the two regions account for 245,000 quintals.

Coffee earns 30 percent of Nicaragua's annual export earnings, or \$140-150 million, a sizable amount for a nation essentially cut off from sources of international credit. Cotton brings in 25 percent of exchange and is primarily harvested mechanically. Sugar, meat and bananas account for most of the rest of Nicaragua's \$400 million annual import earnings.

Yet the coffee harvest receives wide attention because of the dangers involved (being in the areas of most *contra* activity) and the fact the crop requires manual picking. Some 13,000 non-traditional pickers, including 770 foreigners, helped in the

harvest. Yet the labor gap was never overcome; at the peak of the harvest in January only 17,000 of a normal 40,000 were working the hillside slopes of the Matagalpa region.

The *contras* caused an estimated \$23 million damage and killed 39 people involved with the harvest, including a truckload of telephone company volunteers burned alive in an ambush December 4. The attacks this year were not limited to state farms, as in the past; some 40 private farms came under attack. The private sector, including small and medium-sized cooperatives, produces 75 percent of the coffee.

"They even went after farms of people opposed to the Sandinistas," said an international economist who studies the coffee sector. This indicates the attacks were aimed at anyone involved with the harvest to maximize damage to the economy. Many large private producers have no choice but to stay due to the fact so much is invested in a given operation."

This does not mean private farmers go along with the Sandinista government, the economist said. Many slowly "de-capitalize" their holdings by not reinvesting, and they often send profits to foreign bank accounts when possible. For these reasons productivity in the state-run sector has improved steadily since 1979 while the private sector has declined; state farms now produce 25 percent of the crop but control only 15 percent of the land.

-W.G.

By David Behrens

WHAT YEAR IS IT IN THIS dusty pocket of poverty? Four years since a pledge for better times came from Washington? Twenty years since Lyndon Johnson promised a Great Society? A century after a proclamation of emancipation.

The year doesn't really matter in Hardeeville. Here, time stands still. Or so it seems to many of the black citizens—especially the young and the old who believe that here, only the promises change.

For teenagers growing up in this rural community in the southern edge of South Carolina it is clear what year it is: the year most of them would like to get out and move on, to find something more exciting, like the images of modern life on their TV screens, a fixture even in the poorest shanties.

For the old it is even easier to read the emotional calendar: years too late in Hardeeville. Too late for enough food, for jobs, for family life that works. Here only hopelessness comes early.

At the Seaboard Coastline crossing, a southbound freight drags by, Savannah-bound. On one side is the town of Hardeeville: population about 1,200, about 80 percent white. Most black residents, about 2,100 live on the other side of the rails, in the unincorporated area of southern Jasper County.

Across the tracks, there are no stores, just a few churches, some shanties. And there is Brown's, the social club. In the afternoon some men lounge outside. In the evening a few women drop in to dance.

Once there were manor houses along the Savannah River, a lowland of rice plantations. Now there are just little houses scattered along the roads, a few still dirt lanes rutted by the weather. Against this backdrop of piney woods are some of the saddest hovels in the U.S.

The people.

Fanny Young sits on the porch of her ramshackle shanty, wearing an old dress, a few curlers in her hair. In her 60s, she lives on Social Security, and these days she cares for her husband, who is sick and drinks too much. After many years away, he has returned home.

Down the road is a neighbor, Inez Bradley, who sits on the porch of a small, unpainted cement-block house with her daughter, Shug Ford. When Bradley became ill last year, her daughter returned home from Connecticut.

Nearby is a half-fallen shanty where Inez Bradley had been living until last winter when her family completed her new house, a four-year project.

A few miles from the local high school, Lewis Brown sits in his jalopy in front of one of the county's most dismal shanties. Topped with a broken and rusted TV antenna, the hovel has no electricity, heat or plumbing. It is little more than a mattress and a stove, a pile of pine chunks in one corner and three cans of pork and beans on a shelf, a dollar's worth.

Brown has lived here all his life. His father moved here to work in the big sawmill. "Yeah, jobs are pretty slim now," he says. The mill no longer exists, and he had been working on and off at another mill 25 miles away until the week before when he cut open his leg and needed 17 stitches.

When he was younger he worked on the railroad tracks. Now 56, he looks much older. He is used to living alone, buying a chicken for \$1.50 at a local farm, cleaning it himself and cooking it on his wood stove. "You buy three or four and they give you one free." But mostly, he sticks to rice and beans.

The shack is rent-free, owned by his cousin. It has no outhouse, but there is a coldwater spigot in a little hut nearby. "It don't get too cold, maybe 20 degrees," he says.

A half-mile down the road lives Rena Williams. Very slowly, she puts on her sweater and opens the front door. She has been lying in bed, beside her TV, because

she does not feel well.

Williams is 106 years old. Her house is small—not more than six paces across and eight from front to back—but it is neatly kept. The outhouse is just in back, and there is also a pump for water. Sometimes, she says, the pump is hard to work, so she puts out a small tub to catch the rainwater for cooking or washing dishes or for soaking her feet.

Living on about \$200 a month in Social Security, Rena Williams must pay her electric bill and hospital insurance. Then there's the fire insurance. Like Lewis Brown, she has an iron stove to heat the wooden house and one year, she recalls, she was burned out twice, so she always worries about fire.

Decades ago, she worked on a farm, but now she depends on her neighbors to take her to the IGA market on the other side of the tracks to buy her groceries. And when she's feeling well, she goes into the yard "to bust some wood," she says.

"The house leaks when it rains, and the pump is rusty," she says. "Then I got to tote the water. I'd be proud to get a bathroom, 'cause when it rains, I got to use a bucket and then carry it out later. And some days, I hardly can walk."

On a shelf are some muffins and crackers and some cans of pork and beans. Sometimes she cooks fried fish and peas and rice, or Lewis Brown will bring over a chicken. "I'm doing good for my age...."

In front of a tiny three-room concrete-block house is Ruth Lee, her daughter Teresa, age three, and her two-year-old niece Paulette. Lee has spent her life here, more than half her 35 years having children. Her oldest daughter, born when she was a teenager, is 19 and lives in the house with her mother and her own child. Inside, the teenage children, some of them cousins, sit in the sparse bedroom watching TV. It offers images of modern life, lived elsewhere.

Lee's house is sturdier than some of the others on the lane. Some are wood and tar-paper shacks with walls lined with paper, some are trailers or cinder block. Houses with fences around them are likely to be occupied by white families, people say.

In the county, almost 700 of the 5,203 houses lack complete plumbing, or about one of every four homes occupied by black families, according to the latest survey. But many black residents have moved into relatively modern Federal Housing Administration (FHA) houses, with indoor plumbing. Electric bills and repair costs, however, are often high, sometimes more than the monthly mortgage payments of \$30 to \$150. So some owners have lost their homes, moving once again into shanties without plumbing.

Lee's little house has no structural problems, but then, it has no plumbing. There is a spigot in the backyard. Buckets are filled and carried to the house for washing clothes, drinking and bathing. There are other familiar sights: the outhouse, an old car on blocks, an old TV with no innards.

Lee is getting ready to take her daughter and niece, in neat little dresses, for the half-mile walk to the new county clinic, built a year ago. Lee is one of many women who have had their babies early. In a county of fewer than 15,000 people, more than a thousand mothers and children—1,006 at last count—survive on public aid to dependent children and food stamps. A mother with two kids, for instance, will get by on \$168 a month. Often, their young men move on.

So the morning bus to the Hilton Head resorts is filled with black women, many of them single mothers. A public bus serves the coastal resort 15 miles to the east. On the island, the women make the beds, clean the rooms, cook in the kitchens. And for some young people, there is a link between modern times and their history texts, which describe the women who lived in the slave shanties and walked over to the manor houses in the morning to make the beds, clean the rooms and cook the meals.

Ruth Lee is waiting for her mother, who lives just down the lane. Kinship is still a vital part of living here. When welfare payments are cut, when food stamps are de-

layed, when working men cannot find a job, the rural family network, mostly female, keeps life on an even keel.

Dreams of a better life.

A widow in her mid-50s, Ida Mae Rivers lives in one of the better FHA houses, a brick home she shares with her daughter, Nikki, 13, and two of her six sons. Politics confuses many people here, Ida Mae Rivers says. Everyone in this part of Jasper County, for instance, has a Hardeeville address. And just under half the voters, about 1,200, are black. So, Rivers says, some wonder why everything is so modern in the "white section" of town. Many are unaware they live outside the borders of the town, where the population and the voter ratio is five-to-one white.

In town is the city hall, the library, the elementary school, the police station, the firehouse, the sidewalks, the hydrants and the street lights. In the rural area, powerlessness had been an accepted fact of political life. But two years ago, black voters began to exercise some political clout for the first time, when three black candidates won seats on the county council. So Martin Rivers, one of Ida Mae's six sons, came home last year to run for office.

Rivers is a cheerful woman, tuned into what's happening in town and everywhere. Her early years of poverty have given her strength to endure and to inspire her children. Now she is proud of their dreams of a better life.

But she has no desire to leave Hardeeville. She has a pension check and works part-time at the Lin-Dell Motel on Route 17—and she likes living in the country where she has family and friends, and she can sit around and leave her front door open. In her kitchen, she sits with her niece, Carla Hilliard, 21, back home for a visit. In Brooklyn, where she was living, "people would think you're crazy if you leave your door unlocked." Hilliard graduated from West Hardeeville High three years ago, and like most of her class, left town.

"There's nothing here for kids to look forward to," she says. "They can't wait to get away."

But for many teenagers, graduation from West Hardeeville High—home of the Cobras—does not guarantee escape. The school ranks close to the bottom of the academic barrel in the state, and for many, a sense of hopelessness is more inevitable at age 18 than a diploma. Less than 20 percent of Hardeeville's seniors will begin college next fall, and many will not finish.

Others will get caught in a welfare trap, Carla Hilliard says. "They end up having one, two, three kids, drinking at Browns, like they saw their older sisters do. So they have kids and end up in the same bag." Many of the men also cannot find work, have given up looking or are unskilled. At Brown's, they drink cheap beer and lounge around the pool table, forum for the non-events of the day. "Sometimes it isn't safe for black or white, when there's been a lot of drinking," Hilliard says.

Rivers goes over to the electric stove, stirs the chicken in a frying pan and douses it gently with flour. "Most important is to make the best of things," she says, "long as you know you can get out."

Struggle ahead.

In Hardeeville equality is a matter of record, not reality. William Singleton, the high school principal, says integration is working, but slowly.

The reason, Singleton says, is that white parents are still promoting the notion of separate-but-equal education, pulling out their children and sending them to private schools such as the Thomas Heywood Academy in Ridgeland, 15 miles away. At least 20 percent of the county's 3,500 school-age youngsters attend private schools because their parents oppose an integrated high school, says Singleton, the school's first black principal.

"That's the prime objective of the academies—to divide the races," he says. But the private schools are selective by nature, and when they come across trouble-



Carol Spencer

BYP

some students, they toss them back to the public schools. "So we have to take them—blind, crippled or crazy, everyone."

If whites did support the public schools, the black-white ratio would be about 60/40, he says. "And we'd have more parents who believe strongly in education." Fewer than half the county's adults are high school graduates, and local students rank among the lowest in the state. A recent nationwide exam put 87 percent of the county's 10th graders below the national average.

In a town with few black professionals, Singleton tells his teachers, "we have to be the role models. If the children get nothing at home, we have to do it here." This year, about 20 percent of the seniors will go to college, but the figure was 2 percent or 3

In this rural edge, the



Rena Williams, who is 106 years old, lives in a wooden shack with an outhouse and an outside water pump.

ROGUES

percent a few years ago and could drop again, people say.

Most kids still plan to join the Army or look for jobs out of the state. But one problem, Singleton says, can be simply put: "As children get older, white parents start pulling them out of the public schools, because of that old fear of mixing the races." The old phrase is still heard here.

But some of the old notions are being challenged. Last fall, for instance, Martin Rivers, who studied English and political science at a college in Alabama, decided to run for a seat on the five-member Jasper County Council. In this town, he is a rarity: a college graduate who returned home.

In the living room of his mother's home, Rivers, 25, talks with an energy and polish

reminiscent of Andrew Young, mayor of Atlanta. His first job after college, Rivers recalls, was at a Hilton Head resort, behind a front desk. As a managerial trainee, he learned too fast, he says.

"After a month and a half, I was laid off with one day's notice," he says. "I think it's a question of getting rid of you early, before you're a problem, if you become the best candidate for a managerial job. They offered me another job at the same pay, \$5.50 an hour, working for the ground crew. I asked them how come they could pay me \$5.50 at one job, but I couldn't keep the other? They told me it was a different budget."

When young people do get a college degree, Rivers asks, why should they come

back? More kids are going to college, but a C-average student from the local high school can't compete with a C-average student from other districts, he says.

"We have to help kids before the hopelessness sets in.... They sound o.k. when they're 15 or 16 and they're adjusted to segregation here. And they have an idea that maybe things will be much better elsewhere. But when problems come later, when they have their backs to the wall, will they fold up or come out fighting?" So, he says, "educated people must come back...to wake up these kids before they're lost, so they can still grab for the stars."

It will be a difficult struggle, he concedes. Families here aren't committed to education. White families remove their

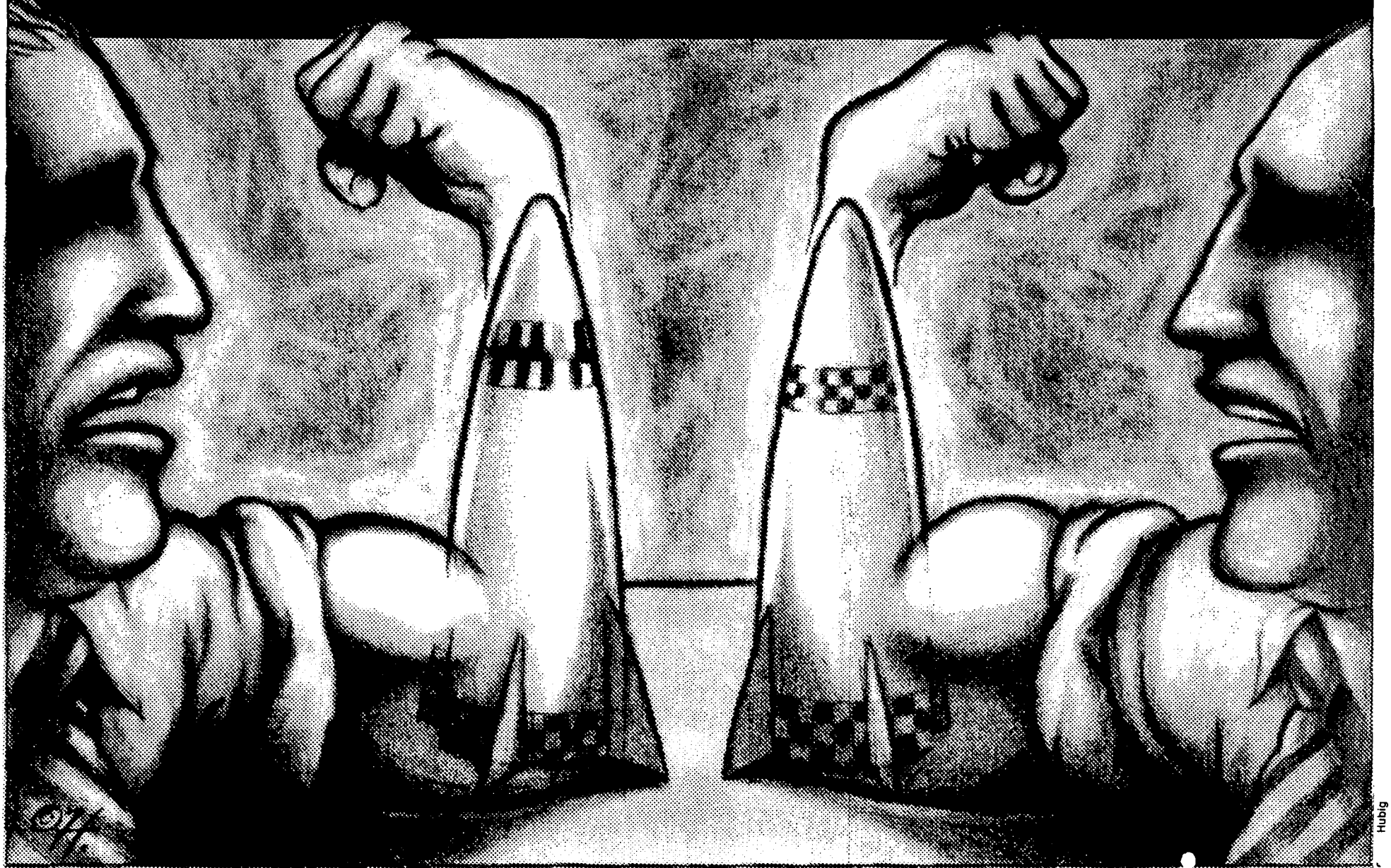
children from public schools. No one goes to the library after school. Kids don't watch the news. No one reads anything if it's not assigned in school. One student will ask a friend if he's read *Animal Farm*, Rivers says, and the other will answer, "Did we have to?"

For a college graduate, returning home to Hardeeville means making a sacrifice. And when Martin Rivers was defeated November 6 in a close race for a county council seat, he began to make plans to move to Atlanta. Even with his deep family ties, there was not much to hold him in Hardeeville.

David Behrens is a staff writer for *Newsday*, in which another version of this story appeared.

al community on South Carolina's southern
only things that change are the promises.

EDITORIAL



What kind of threat do the Soviets pose?

With 21 more MX missiles now approved by Congress, and with the Reagan military budget now being considered, the underlying rationale for all this armament is not being addressed in public life. Our contention has been that the Soviet Union presents no military threat to the United States, to Western Europe or to the Third World.

This view has received little support within the establishment because it involves the great political risk of being labeled pro-Communist, or simple-minded. The result has been an inability to oppose any request by the Reagan administration for more arms if it is put in the context of negotiations or a reiteration of the alleged growing Soviet military threat, as in a new government report on Soviet strength issued last week.

All this makes a new book, *Managing Moscow: Guns or Goods*, by Harry Rositzke, a CIA officer for 25 years and the first American to run espionage operations against the Soviet Union, particularly timely and important. Rositzke was the first chief of the CIA's Soviet Operations Division, when the CIA was founded in 1947. He retired in 1970, and from his home in Virginia watched with growing concern as detente slid into confrontation.

As he told *Common Cause* editor Florence Graves in a recent interview, Rositzke is convinced that Soviet leaders are "mainly concerned with becoming stronger to withstand the American threat, which is obviously greater than the Soviet threat is to us. For 35 years they have had bases all around the Soviet Union," but "no one has ever suggested that the Russians will somehow or other try to take over the U.S."

Rositzke thinks that this country's greatest misunderstanding of the Soviet Union flows from the idea that Soviet leaders are "all minor Satans," and that this has been promoted primarily by two people, John Foster Dulles, who was "the first to promote this whole thing of what I call a moral and religious crusade," and President Reagan, who "came in and, in somewhat simpler language, did the same thing."

"It's such a ludicrous, stupid affair," he says. "In 35 years they have never sent their troops outside their border areas." But what about Afghanistan? "Afghanistan is along their border," he insists, adding that "in all my years in government and since, I have never seen an intelligence estimate that shows how it would be profitable to Soviet interests to invade Western Europe or to attack the United States. There is no rationale for it."

Instead, Rositzke says, the Soviets are "going about their business in a simple way. Every year they are producing more goods; they are getting a more secure society and military; and they have been prospering."

And "they have worked awfully hard for 60 to 70 years to build a society. It's not terribly good yet, but they certainly aren't going to take a gamble on dropping some missiles across the Atlantic or taking their tanks into Western Europe when this could lead to the destruction of their society. That's what I mean when I say they are human. They are very pragmatic people." Meanwhile, "we have been sacrificing a great deal of our wealth, brains and so forth on our own battlefield. I'm a strong believer in deterrence," Rositzke adds, "but that's enough."

The political threat.

Rositzke does see the United States and the Soviet Union to be in a long-term competition, but he sees it to be political and economic. Even so, he doesn't believe that the average Russian wants freedom, because "the average Russian has never had freedom and doesn't know what it really means and very often is suspicious of it."

The idea of freedom as we know it in the United States is not on the Soviet agenda, he suggests, because "if you are bred into a society of rules and regulations and suddenly wake up one morning and you can do anything you want, that's a threat."

But if that's true, the Soviets also can't be much of a political threat to the American people. It is a society in which the

ideas of the socialists who made the Revolution in 1917 lost out to the power of Russian backwardness and tradition, a society in which the pull of czarism proved to be stronger than the ideas of a tiny revolutionary party, a society in which those who adapted to the old ways were easily able to outmaneuver those who preferred a more democratic path.

What political appeal is there in this to Americans or Western Europeans? Indeed, the record of Soviet difficulties in Eastern Europe, in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland, makes it clear that the Soviets are in constant political trouble within their immediate sphere of influence, and that in the not-so-long run they will have to make substantial accommodations to democratic pluralism, if not at home then in their "empire."

The Soviets are no political threat to the United States or Western Europe because working people in those nations have already won a range of democratic rights and are deeply committed to the ideas of political pluralism and civil liberties.

That leaves the Third World as an arena for competition, and it is here that the Soviets have a good chance of "winning" if the United States continues on its present path. For it is in the Third World that the United States represents the undemocratic

past, while the Soviets give aid to the more democratic future.

The empire.

The United States, despite its long popular tradition of anti-colonialism, has played a different role as a world power. From its inception as a string of states along the Atlantic coast, American leaders have viewed their destiny to be that of a rising empire. And in fact, the United States has expanded its power and influence more or less continually from the days when it was absorbing native American, British, French and Spanish territory within our present continental limits to the days of the Cold War, when it was assuming responsibility for the world imperial system from Germany, France and Britain.

That nearly unbroken string of successes in empire-building, however, came to an end somewhere in the late '50s and early '60s, most notably with the victory of the Cuban revolution and the American defeat in the Vietnam war. Before that, every attempt to break out of the empire—whether in Guatemala, the Congo, Iran or Indonesia—was successfully squashed, but only by defeating the more democratic forces and by bolstering the more autocratic and subservient old guard.

It is in this arena where the Soviets have been able to make gains among the more democratic forces in the world, despite their lack of democracy at home, for the very simple reason that they have been on the side that represents the principles that American leaders claim as their own.

The competition, then, is not really with the Soviet Union at all. It is with ourselves. It has to do with what kind of society we want, not only for ourselves, but for the world. Our present policies, most clearly represented in the administration's attempts to destroy the Nicaraguan revolution and in its budget priorities, illustrates how our role in the world as protector of a rapidly crumbling empire is not only doomed to failure, but threatens our own survival as a democratic nation with a commitment to the welfare of our citizens. ■

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Soviet imperialism

I AM WRITING IN REGARDS TO "COMING TO terms with the USSR" (ITT, Feb. 20) as it relates to the Afghan war. I have enjoyed ITT much since I subscribed last summer. With Ronald Reagan in power, I need a solidly leftist newspaper. We live in a time when Cold War rhetoric on both sides moves at a dizzying pace, numbing the most astute political minds.

The brunt of the Cold War is felt most tragically in the Third World. Oppressed and impoverished people there can only hope to hold their own in the endless struggle against imperialism. I know a Filipino whose father has been jailed for 13 years now, merely for supporting Marcos' chief rival, Benigno Aquino. I know the pain capitalism causes in the Third World.

But it is hypocritical vigorously to oppose American repression only to marginally oppose Soviet repression in Afghanistan. Although your editorial did oppose the Afghan war, it didn't go nearly far enough. Since when did dropping napalm on women and children become "non-expansionist" and "non-aggressive"—not to mention beheadings, live burnings and torture? As a democratic socialist, I am deeply disturbed at such actions committed in the name of socialism.

Neither the Soviets nor the Americans can be called "non-expansionist" merely because their empires have stopped expanding and they are placed on the defensive. Afghanistan is not a legitimate part of the Soviets' "defensive" empire any more than is El Salvador a legitimate part of ours. Nor are the Soviets less imperialistic because they have a small number of Third World satellites compared to the large number of capitalist-backed dictatorships.

It may be difficult for the democratic left to condemn the Afghan war, but the government of Babrak Karmal is a vicious, murderous regime that deserves everyone's condemnation. Such condemnation need not be coupled with calls for military aid to the insurgents, nor with an affirmation of the Afghan rebels' ideals. I have deep disagreements with fundamentalist Islamic beliefs, with strict reliance on vengeance and "holy" wars. But Afghans should be allowed to govern themselves.

Brandon D. Hunt
University City, Mo.

Read and reread

PERSONS CONCERNED ABOUT THE present and future general welfare of the country would do well to read your editorial (ITT, March 27) and re-read it. We now have entered on the era of the national security state in which large amounts of public funds are transferred to corporate and financial America to design and build armaments to supply our armed forces, themselves as standing armies distributing vast sums of public monies. This federal spending serves as the modern pump primer for the economy, but slowly, combined with the anti-inflation, tax and anti-social welfare policies of the government, is bringing the country to a major breakdown in which rich and poor alike will find themselves stultified.

To spell these effects out we have to note only that military spending contrasted with civilian investment is progressively inefficient as a pump primer because its end products and services are not really productive of social wealth. The result of anti-inflation, tax and anti-social welfare policies has been to amass investment and purchasing power in corporate and financial America, and to weaken it in farming, working and aging America. Throw in the effects from offshore and the trends are strengthened. When a sufficient number of farmers and former homeowners are reduced to tenancy, and the level of poverty is widespread, the crash can be expected to come.

To defend these policies the Republicans have seized seemingly high moral

ground. Realizing that the offensive nuclear arms race now is exposed as palpably immoral, ineffective and subject to curtailment by arms control, they are shifting the race to what they claim are defensive weapons, which will provide work for the next 20 or 30 years in the armaments field. America as a high-tech fortress sounds both morally appealing and militarily effective, but it keeps us going down the road to economic debacle.

To save corporate and financial America from itself, and the rest of the country as well, the Democrats, if they are to be a viable political party, will have to meet the so-called defensive weapons race head-on, go as far as the Soviets are willing to go in arms control and support policies that will benefit all sectors of the economy.

Robert L. Kealy
Milwaukee

Shaping Up

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR EDITORIAL (ITT, March 27). As a loyal subscriber, I am gratified to notice in your recent editorials a trend indicating some rethinking with regard to the socialist societies.

In the editorial referred to above, when you write "In our view, a sustained and rational assault on Cold War ideology is not only possible now, it is a necessary prerequisite to solving the pressing needs...", you finally exhibit signs of intellectual insight and political maturity indispensable to survival and positive change. But you still remain ensnared by the Cold War ideology as indicated by your reference to the years when a "genuine contest for world domination by both superpowers was shaping up" (a choice of concepts and interpretation clearly inconsistent with your approving reference to Norman A. Graebner's position and your own account of the nuclear arms race in this same editorial). However, the trend (I hope...) is encouraging.

If you take seriously your own interpretations in this editorial, I expect to see numerous analyses of this issue and hammering of your message in the future.

Zeev Gorin
Peoria, IL

No Cross

DIANA JOHNSTONE (ITT, MARCH 27) IS INCORRECT in describing Erhard Eppler as among the German Social Democrats who joined the peace movement "more or less as a cross they had to bear."

Eppler, not least in his capacity as president of the National Assembly of the German Protestant Church in the period 1981-83, has been and remains a central figure in the peace movement. He is also a major environmental thinker and, in general, a very effective advocate of new thought for the Social Democrats. A former minister of development (he resigned from one of Schmidt's governments to protest insufficient West German aid to the impoverished nations), he is on the party's executive council and has major responsibilities for rethinking its program. In fact, in some ways he is the most effective of the Green thinkers—despite his remaining within the SPD.

Be that as it may, he was from the first

LETTERS

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

critical of Schmidt on a number of points—the issues raised by the peace movement salient among them. Since Eppler is a frequent visitor to our country (I've never seen a European stand up better to the spurious rationality of Washington's technocrats), he should be received by all of us for what he is: a political figure of quite extraordinary acumen, integrity and influence.

Norman Birnbaum
Washington

More

NEVER HAS BLACK POLITICS BEEN MORE interesting and clearly defined than in the objective, evidently thoughtful perspective of Salim Muwakkil. Give me more.

Celeste Harrell
Chicago

Women in China

IT IS SO EASY FOR MEN TO BE COMPLACENT about the oppression of women. Of course, Chinese women can see themselves as Chinese first: in the early years of this phase of the women's movement here, there was great conflict in the hearts of socialist women over their rejection of feminism the better to serve the Revolution. The women I spoke to then who did not join the nascent feminists were full of explanations about why the struggle for socialism or black liberation took precedence over the basically bourgeois women's struggle, and why the greater struggle would automatically bring freedom to women. Chinese women may as easily have been convinced of this as we are, and, moreover, they are not very likely to tell Henry Rosemont (ITT, March 27) if they don't fully believe the line.

Rosemont makes his case for Confucius by pointing out that Confucius abhorred war and generals and abjured the supernatural. That's all right for Confucius, but China took Confucianism without its pacifism, and turned for the supernatural to Daoism and local forms of Buddhism. We are not talking about a critique of Confucius, we are talking about the use of his system to oppress women.

There is a solid body of evidence in the Chinese language itself, and in Chinese classics to show that Chinese women held a much higher place in society before Confucius. Confucius himself urged us to study the *Shi Qing* (Book of Songs) and these songs speak of and from women we do not meet again for millennia.

Moreover, the women's movement in China has followed a course not unlike our own. Women who were social militants and labor militants and revolutionaries were either co-opted into the larger revolution or hounded to death or irrevocably disgraced. The revolution has done

much for women, but women have done a great deal more for the revolution. It is interesting that those who are afraid of feminism have stigmatized it as "American culture: self-indulgent, asocial, materialistic." The healthy organs of the system are held to be responsible for the disease.

Sheila Shiki y Michaels
New York

Haymarket

I BELIEVE IT IS BASICALLY WRONG TO SUGGEST, as Nick Salvatore does in his review of Paul Avrich's *The Haymarket Tragedy* (ITT, March 20), that the rise of Samuel Gompers' AFL and business unionism was related to the Haymarket massacre.

While it's clear that Haymarket provided the perfect opportunity to employ the heavy hand of repression against the organizations of American workers, and to refine the rhetoric, tactics and ideology of the red scare, it was just that—a good opportunity. It's more useful for us to examine how the possessors of economic and political power will wield that power in response to challenges to their prerogatives and profits by the organizations of working women and men.

Whether legitimized by Haymarket or another event, manufactured or real, in the labor struggles of the 1880s and 1890s, the unremitting attack upon labor would have occurred. That a kind of unionism was allowed to exist, however grudgingly, that could organize craft workers and develop the process of contractual bargaining in a structured and bureaucratic format, does not detract from the difficulty of the task, or the value of the accomplishment to American workers.

The rise of the AFL reflects more than just the disenchantment of men like Gompers with the radical sensibilities of their youth, and the sobering effect of the Haymarket experience and its after effects. Labor has never had it easy for very long in this country. The emergence of business unionism had more to do with pragmatism and possibility and the ways of American business than with the unfortunate consequences of an anarchist *faux pas*.

Roy Morrison
Warner, N.H.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander



PERSPECTIVES

Congress confronts civil rights bill to negate Grove City

By Gregory D. Squires

WHILE CIVIL RIGHTS Commission Chairman Clarence Pendleton sings looney tunes about comparable worth and the "new black racists," an important civil rights confrontation is shaping up in Congress.

The Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1985 (H.R. 700 and S. 431) has been introduced to assure that federal funds will not be used to discriminate on the basis of color, national origin, sex, handicap or age.

The basic objective of this legislation is to overturn last year's *Grove City* decision in which the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that institutions receiving federal grants must assure non-discrimination only in programs directly receiving the funds, rather than in all of the institution's operations, as federal civil rights enforcement agencies had previously ruled.

The Act, by amending four critical civil rights laws, would reaffirm the broad interpretation. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which protects racial and ethnic minorities in all programs receiving federal financial assistance, Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972, which protects women in educational institutions, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, which protects the handicapped and the Age Discrimination Act of 1975, which protects older Americans would be affected. In each case, amendment would explicitly require non-discrimination in all operations of any institution receiving federal aid.

The Reagan administration has expressed apparent support to overturn the *Grove City* decision, but an administration bill, sponsored by Sen. Robert Dole, has two fundamental flaws. First, it deals only with education, whereas the Restoration Act

applied to education, health care, social services, transportation, housing and any other program that receives federal financial support. Second, the administration bill uses the term "educational institution" which is defined in Title IX as including departments of colleges and universities. Therefore, the bill could be interpreted to codify rather than overturn the *Grove City* decision.

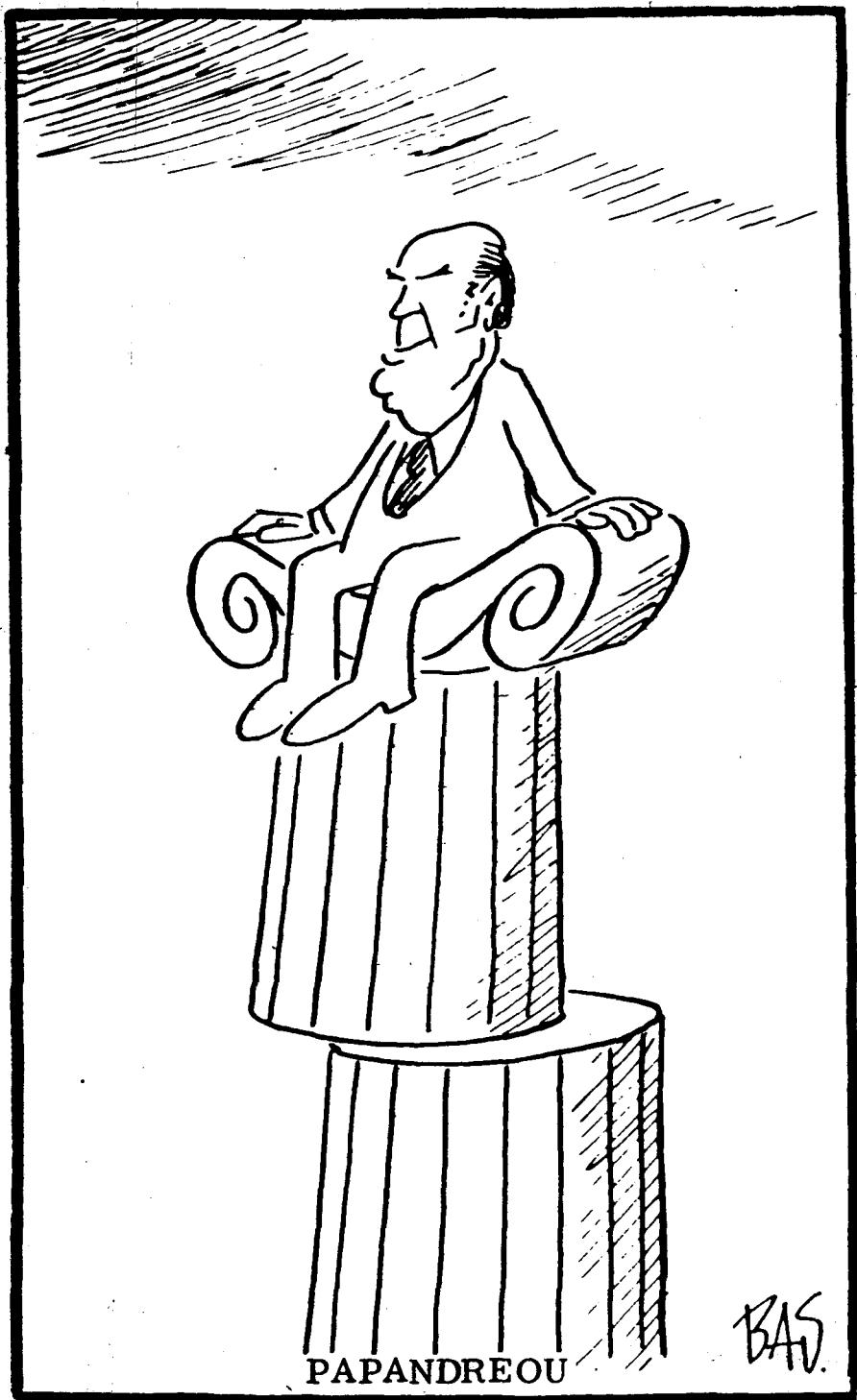
The administration version would leave intact many discriminatory practices that the Restoration Act would prohibit. For example, a Hispanic patient could be denied medical care at a state hospital receiving federal funds if the funds were not traceable to the particular unit that denied the service, or female students could be denied access to vocational and technical courses in public schools if the federal dollars are not traceable to those specific programs.

Differences between these two bills are not matters of semantics that civil rights advocates can assume will be ironed out in a conference committee.

The House version of the Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1985 has more than 60 co-sponsors and the Senate version has more than 45. Sen. David Durenberger (R-MN) captured the essence of the Act when he stated, "In this nation, equal opportunity is not a compromise. This government will not tolerate 'a little discrimination.'"

The Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1985 is the most important civil rights issue before Congress this year. As one of Clarence Pendleton's black racists, NAACP Director Benjamin L. Hooks implored: "The Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1985 is urgently needed to restore and reaffirm our nation's civil rights laws. Its enactment is of vital importance to America's racial minorities, our women, our disabled and our senior citizens."

Gregory D. Squires is an associate professor of sociology at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.



Papandreou echoes Greek consensus

By Carl Marzani

THE IDEA OF A LINKAGE BETWEEN the Greek prime minister and the Soviet general secretary may seem like a bizarre joke, but that is what the staid *Wall Street Journal* did in two editorials on March 12, which took up its entire editorial space. The first editorial was on Gorbachov's election of the previous day and was relatively restrained. The *Journal* observed that "in foreign policy the Russians have won a lot more than they have lost in the past 20 years," so that Gorbachov would probably continue that policy, including the current "Soviet strategy of attempting to drive a wedge between the U.S. and its Western allies." This strategy will be furthered by Gorbachov's "seductive" style, as shown when he charmed Margaret Thatcher, "just another of a series of conquests." The success of the divisive strategy is seen in Greece and the reader is referred to the second editorial: "See Mr. Papandreou's latest escapade below."

The escapade is the ouster of the Greek President Constantine Karamanlis in the election process which began on March 17. This shows, says the *Journal*, that "Mr. Papandreou is getting ready to run amok." The strident tone and intemperate attack mask the issue of legitimate Greek grievances against Washington—CIA activity in Athens, undue arming of Turkey, Reagan's nuclear build-up and Star Wars. Since Karamanlis is Washington's man (so characterized by the *New York Times*' correspondent Henry Kamm in a dispatch of March 10), Papandreou has seized the occasion of a constitutionally mandated election to support a Socialist candidate, Su-

preme Court Justice Christos Sartzetakis.

The editorial goes on to say that "the Socialist agenda seems to include making Greece non-aligned (like Cuba)...." The parenthetical reference is snide and intentionally misleading: Cuba is in the Soviet camp; Greece is in NATO and has American bases on its soil. Papandreou would like to be neutral and in this is supported by his people. This was emphasized by a Greek expert on public opinion who is not

Greeks are not pro-Soviet, or anti-American, they simply seek a neutralist foreign policy.

a Socialist or Communist partisan of the prime minister, in an Op-Ed article in the *New York Times* the day after the *Journal*'s editorials. The expert is Panayote Dimitras, director of a polling firm in Athens. He writes: "The Papandreou line reflects genuine and widely held neutralist beliefs." After describing several polls he concludes: "These results do not imply that the Greek public is pro-Soviet. What they suggest is neutralist opposition to close ties, East and West."

Papandreou, like Prime Minister Lange of New Zealand, is responding to the "nuclear allergy" of the population.

He is not running "amok," nor is he being "seduced" by Gorbachov.

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STO1

By Tani E. Barlow &
Donald M. Lowe

SINCE THE END OF THE GREAT Proletarian Cultural Revolution, writing in the West on Chinese women has reversed itself. Where Julia Kristeva once enjoined us to scrutinize the unreadable faces of Chinese women for intimations of sexual delight, "jouissance," we now read "The Slaughter of the Innocents Still Goes On," an exposition on the state-sponsored murder of female infants, and Steven Mosher's horrible stories of forced third-trimester abortions and female infanticides. Replacing the old image of the white-haired woman, rifle aimed at the sky, is a new image of Chinese women as the inert victims of a failed revolution decomposing into almost Yankee-style capitalism.

Over the same decade, feminist and socialist research has tended to reinforce rather than challenge the new consensus by failing to place women into proper social-cultural context. Kay Anne Johnson's *Women, the Family and Peasant Revolution in China* emphasizes the failure of Party policies to challenge male dominance by its refusal to attack the patrilineal, patrilocal kinship system. But Johnson's informative, reasoned argument misleads by suggesting that Chinese women's struggles for equality depend on the unlikely emergence of an independent "feminism" representing the rights of women against the claims of family, party and state. Judith Stacey's *Patriarchy and Socialist Revolution* argues similarly that the state revitalized Chinese "society" after the endemic crises of the first half of the 20th century by extending to peasant men patriarchal prerogatives previously available only to elite males, thus reconstructing China at the expense of women. Her approach ends up reducing Chinese culture to a particularly brutal expression of universal "patriarchy."

Both studies share similar Westernist assumptions. First, that Chinese feminism was a viable alternative before the Party suppressed it; and second, even more insupportable, that Chinese society can be disaggregated into such real interest groups as "men," "women" and "communists." Throughout, Johnson and Stacey remain committed to an essentialist category of "woman." Neither of their studies can be faulted empirically. But on conceptual grounds we must ask whether their Western feminist analysis can truly represent the Chinese "order of things."

As yet no explicit counter thesis claims to do this, although detailed studies are beginning to suggest that in the case of Chinese women, kinship itself rather than simply gender relations ought to be the subject of inquiry. Marjory Topley, Andrea Patrice Sankar, Janet Salaff, Lydia Kung, Jeffrey Wasserstrom and others take seriously the continued identification of most Chinese women with patrilineal kinship structures or with such counter-structures as "sisterhoods" composed of female members along patrilineal structural principles. In other words, rather than arguing a false analytic opposition between "women's" interests and "male-dominated kinship," efforts in the future will have to concentrate on how kinship determines characteristically Chinese gender constructions.

Tentative steps in this direction are being taken by Patricia (Jackal) Stranahan in a monograph that shows peasant women and the Party in complete agreement during the war years that the object of the women's policy be improved standards of living and not reform of kin relations or gender prescriptions. Phyllis Andors' significant, though inadequately argued, treatment of the Chinese women's movement after 1949 succeeds in demonstrating that actual progress toward gender parity has been greatest when feminism was least visible, i.e., during the anti-Confucian, anti-Lin Biao campaign. And Elizabeth Croll, who began by studying *Feminism and Socialism in China*, has since enlarged her project to define the proper context of Chinese women by studying food consumption, household eco-

nomy, marriage and kinship.

A different woman.

We are convinced of the need to study how Chinese kinship discourse produces a "woman" vastly different from that of the Western discourse of sexual identity. The Western feminist approach which assumes a common gender identity across cultures is actually comparing apples and oranges. It is the category of "woman," that needs to be explicated. Until then Western feminists and the subject of their analysis, Chinese women, will never see eye to eye on such important issues as work and family, childcare, power and rights.

Western theory has recently produced a distinction relevant to our project. Jeffrey Weeks and Gayle Rubin, following Michel Foucault, point out that in the capitalist West gender no longer entirely codes sexual relations. Since the late 19th century they have become distinguishable and "separated." As a consequence of the bourgeois regulations of sexual behavior, sexual identity has risen as a new ideology, being the core around which we construct our personalities, the litmus test of our inner selves. Western feminism's essentialist concepts of womanhood developed inside this context as an antithesis to male sexism. In fact, sexuality itself has become an integral part of the system of production and consumption of commodities in advanced capitalist society.

The Chinese system.

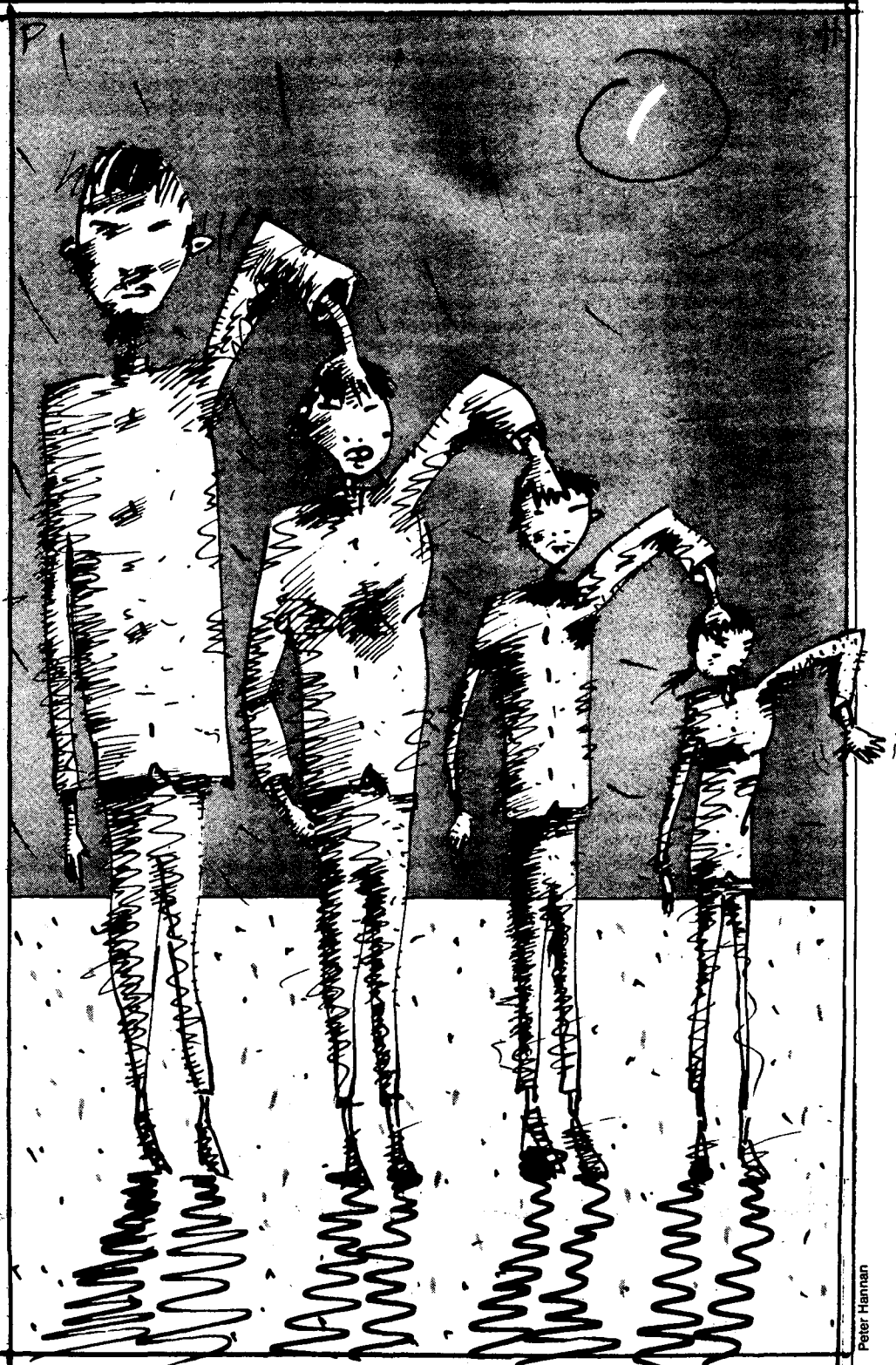
In contemporary China, kinship discourse (rearticulated in Communist and other modern vocabularies) regulates gender, gender relations regulate sex and the individual defines self in terms of kin position rather than sexual identity. This structure of relations we experience as "Chinese-ness" when we visit China. As in the past, the discourse of patrilineal, patrilocal kinship establishes a hierarchic order of age/gender inside kin units like the *jia* (non-nuclear family) or kin-like organizations—peer groups, brother and sisterhoods.

A Chinese person identifies on the basis of position in the enclosed social unit, rather than in terms of "universal" binary opposition of man and woman. So fathers outposition mothers, mothers outposition sons, and everyone occupies a position higher than the daughter-in-law, who, nonetheless, with luck and determination, rises to the position of a mother. This is a specific, historical patrilineal system, in which gender is subordinated to hierarchic categories—age, the bonds of filial obligation and so on. Sexual identity does not dominate Chinese social concerns.

In effect, the struggle across positions in hierarchical order supercedes the Western-style binomial battle of the sexes. In 1981-82, which we spent teaching at Shanghai Teachers College, people seemed relatively unconcerned with sexual politics (though not blind to sexism and injustice), but were intensely concerned with generational, positional conflicts at every level, from personal relations with parents to resentment at the "old men" running the Politburo.

A Chinese person identifies on the basis of position in the enclosed social unit rather than in terms of man vs. woman.

PERSPECTIVES



Peter Hannan

In China, kin position outweighs gender

Personal observation reinforced our scholarly suspicion that Chinese women, as disadvantaged as women anywhere, do move up and down positionally in family affairs, work units, political cliques and Party branches, but not as yet at the highest levels.

If kinship discourse produces Chinese gender relations, then the larger context of Chinese society is not women versus patriarchy and the Party, but the triangular interplay of patrilineal kinship, developing economy and the Party/state—an interplay that Andors and Croll have investigated at some length. Of the three, only the Party is ideologically committed to improving the status of the disadvantaged. And here we need not engage in the polemics of feminist versus Maoist true believer, or point out the historical pattern of Party "betrayal" of support for women during periods of economic social conservatism. We need instead to consider the simple fact that economic development and patrilineal authorities do accommodate each other, and have absolutely no interest in improving the status of women or youth. The fact is that only the Mao of the Cultural Revolution willingly jeopardized economic development and the entrenched Party authorities in order to attack the kinship system. Mao failed. The present government subordinates the "women's question" to its policy of economic readjustment, which,

incidentally, an overwhelming majority of women support.

Our own feminist demands represent one struggle against specific, concrete oppressions in the capitalist West. The goals we have differ profoundly from those of Chinese women and, frequently, Chinese young people of both sexes. Simply put, Chinese women are not going to abandon kinship, or opt for Western-style, sex-identified womanhood. Ultimately, they will alter and modify their own Chinese pattern of gender relations, but that will probably not make them more like us.

Those Chinese women aware of it generally find Western feminism implicitly critical of them, overconcerned with sexual matters and often just irrelevant to their needs. And they are right. Much current scholarship, to say nothing of the new media consensus, is highly judgmental, even patronizing, of Chinese women and their society. We must curb our feelings of superiority, even when the temptation to justify them in terms of sexual sophistication, theoretical acumen, economic development or "stage" of history is very strong. The alternative simply recycles our own Western myth of an essentialist "woman" beyond cultural variation. ■

Tani E. Barlow and Donald M. Lowe's *The Chinese Looking Glass: American Teaching in the People's Republic of China* will be published in October by Praeger.

The following is an excerpt from the newly released book *Freedom Rising: Life Under Apartheid Through the Eyes of an American on a Four-Year Clandestine Journey Through Southern Africa* by James North (MacMillan Publishers). North was our correspondent from southern Africa between 1978-1983 and continues to write frequently for *In These Times*.

By James North

IN THE YEARS FOLLOWING THE 1976 Soweto uprising, as the talk of reform in South Africa continued to come to nothing, several thousand young black people decided to flee into exile. They crossed illegally into

try to leave the country without permission. Once gone, there was no coming back; after the first flush of excitement in 1976, most people soberly realized the apartheid regime would survive for a long time to come. I watched two of my friends spend several years trying to make up their minds.

Mandla Mazibuko spoke slowly and deliberately, in a soft, hypnotic tone of voice. He dressed very casually—a pair of jeans, a T-shirt and *tackies*, or sneakers. He was very muscular, the result of daily exercises and runs of up to marathon distance. "We must be strong," he said. "We must not succumb to the temptation of material things." He was 22 years old

"spoke in favor of nonviolence and Christianity. During '76 and '77 some of the fellows would say we should go burn down the government bottle stores, or burn the houses of police and other sell-outs. I debated with them, and quite often I was able to talk them out of these acts."

In late '77, Mazibuko was leading a prayer meeting at the school, reading and interpreting certain Bible verses. The principal, T.W. Kambule, an educator highly re-

black mechanical engineer in the whole country."

He paused, and asked me, "How can it be that in a time when man's capacity and man's mind are expanding that such creatures who believe in racism can still exist?"

The police caught him just short of the Botswana border. "I was so foolish," he said, grimacing. "I was carrying a book by Mao Tse-Tung in a paper bag, and I was wearing blue jeans and boots. People don't dress that way in the rural areas."

The police in Swartruggens, a small town in the Western Transvaal, interrogated him. They asked why he was leaving. "I told them, to study mechanical engineering." That really made them angry. One of them laughed and said, "So now these black things are getting clever, hey!"

Mandla continued speaking, as if in a trance. "They called for the commander. He started asking questions politely. I answered those about myself, but I refused to tell him names of some other people in the struggle. He became angry, left the room and came back with four huge Boers."

Mandla recreated the scene, repeating the police statements in Afrikaans and then translating. "So you won't talk, hey? Take off your clothes. We're going to cut your penis off." Then they started laughing about someone they had tortured before....

"I still wasn't going to tell them anything. I can't explain. You have to be in that position yourself. I had *nothing* to lose. All I wanted was my dignity as a human being. I would keep that. I told them so. 'If I die, I die,' I said. Also, I knew I had my own foolishness to blame for getting caught. I felt I had to endure."

"I waited in that chair as they walked around me asking more questions. Then they pushed me over to a closet and told me to look inside. There I saw all kinds of canes—long ones, short ones, thick ones. They told me to pick one out. I refused. They sat me down again."

"Then, one of them looked at his watch and started to complain. They wanted to leave work for the day. They said, 'Don't worry, we will come and get you in the morning.'"

"Back in the cell, I didn't sleep all night. I refused the food, because I had already learned you can take the blows better if you haven't eaten. About 5:00 a.m. I heard a woman singing a beautiful spiritual somewhere else in the prison. I started to sing along with her. When they came for me later, they handcuffed us together and took us down to the office."

Mandla started to smile. "I waited. Then they took me inside. It was not as bad as I expected. They hit me some few times, and used one of the canes."

He bit off the words, obviously recalling the scene vividly. "I—told—them—nothing."

Two months later, the police arrested Mandla without charging him. He joked that he regretted missing a major soccer match while he was in jail, in which his team, the Orlando Pirates, had trounced the arch-rival Kaizer Chiefs. He lingered around Johan-

nesburg, unsure of his next step. He felt the press of family obligations. His grandparents had been deeply upset by his detention.

He resolved to stay until they passed away. "I don't want to hurt them anymore," he said. "My grandfather was once very much in the struggle, but he is now old and tired."

Meanwhile, he signed up with a correspondence school to study various subjects on his own, a step taken by many students who refused to return to Bantu Education. He still suffered from headaches. He looked forward to when he would eventually leave and join the guerrilla army. He said he had largely abandoned religion, though he was interested in Islam because he had heard "it does not say to turn the other cheek."

"I would like not to kill," he told me in mid-1979. "But I am not afraid to die. I read a book once by a revolutionary from East Africa, which said we must not be afraid of religion. We must be prepared to be like Jesus and die for the people. We must resist evil to avoid becoming part of it."

Mosubye Matlala also dresses informally, like his friend Mandla, but he has a flair for the unusual—a bead necklace, a stocking cap even in summer. He is constantly thinking, questioning, weighing, with an intensity that is perceptible from his expressions. He squints often, furrowing his brow, twisting himself awkwardly as he chooses his words with extreme care. His mood changes from day to day; he is sometimes irritable and withdrawn, on other occasions open and relaxed.

He was 23 years old and living with his family in Orlando when I first met him. He had also been a leader in the Soweto student movement, and he was detained for seven months. He did not talk about his time in jail, but he occasionally let slip random comments that indicated he was beaten up badly.

Mosubye's father first arrived in Soweto in 1963. The Matlala family was from the Lebowa Bantustan, in the north. "It's nice there in the mountains and you can sometimes even hear lions roaring at night. But there is no work there."

He says he had a troubled childhood, due to his tyrannical father, a large and humorless man. "He didn't let me go out and play on the mine dumps with the other kids. On weekends he stayed in the house and did his carpentry. He built tables and chairs. We had to sit quietly with him, and hand him a nail or a screw when he wanted it. Whenever I disobeyed and went out to play, he would give me the lash and send me to bed without any food. My mother tried to take my side, but he never listened to her. It became a pattern since I was young—I would disobey and get the lash."

"My father is a traditionalist. He demands we speak our own language, Pedi, at home instead of the mixture we use in Soweto. He didn't approve when my eldest brother married a Xhosa, so they had to have a small, civil wedding without the white gown and all that. He doesn't like Soweto; he

SOUTH AFRICA

The special agonies of living with apartheid



Police get ready to move in and detain 500 black students during a 1980 student boycott.

the neighboring independent states of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.

A variety of motives prompted this exodus. Some of the young people left to escape certain arrest and probable imprisonment. Others wanted to join one of the liberation organizations based in exile, to volunteer for training as guerrillas. Still others sought only to continue their schooling, away from the detested Bantu Education system. Some "skipped," as the word for flight became, for the same reasons that young people anywhere leave home: a search for adventure, a desire for independence. Most young people left for a combination of these reasons.

The urge to remain at home was also strong, in part due to the natural bonds to family, friends and place. Reports filtered back that life in exile could be a struggle in unfamiliar surroundings. Many young people argued quietly but persuasively that liberation would not only come from outside South Africa: some would have to remain behind and work inside the country.

Quite a few people spent months, even years, weighing these many factors. They agonized guardedly, confiding only in close friends, as it is a prison offense to

when I first met him in 1979.

Mandla was raised by his grandparents, whom he calls his parents, in the Naledi section of "deep Soweto." His grandfather, the epitome of elderly dignity, was more than 90 years old. He was a laborer who experienced a religious conversion after what Mandla suspects was a hell-raising youth. He was a preacher in the African Methodist Episcopal Church, which had been started by black American missionaries. The old man still worked, helping out as a shop assistant.

Mandla explained, "He qualifies for his pension of 25 rand a month but he can only receive it in 'his' Bantustan—which is a place where he has never lived. He wants to stay here, so he must work."

The dominant influence of grandfather Mazibuko produced a very religious grandson. "I started preaching myself when I was only 13. At home, we still sing two to three spirituals and pray together before going to bed. As a child, I used to often read the Bible and other religious books instead of going out to play. Because of my religion, I always avoided the fights that the other small boys would sometimes have with each other."

At Orlando High School, Mandla Mazibuko was one of the students looked up to as leaders by the others. "I always," he said,

spected by both parents and students, was on hand. Suddenly, police in riot gear burst in with snarling dogs. "The one closest to me had a dog called Bobby," Mandla remembered. "He kept saying 'Get them, Bobby' as the dog jumped at us. The police started to beat the girl students with their batons. Mr. Kambule tried to stop them, but they just pushed him out of the way. I have never in my life seen anyone so humiliated."

Mandla and 20 other students were taken away to Protea police station, where they were methodically beaten. "I still believed in nonviolence, but I questioned myself. I got books by Frantz Fanon and Mao Tse-Tung; I borrowed them even though they are all banned. I gradually came to think that if you endure evil, if you do not resist evil, you are assisting evil. You are becoming part of evil."

After white vigilantes shot to death his favorite cousin in the street one morning, he changed further. "I started to have what I think was a kind of neurosis. I looked in some books that said the symptoms are brooding, insomnia, all of which I had. Sometimes I had to press my temples as hard as I could to keep the pain away."

Mandla decided to leave the country, to study mechanical engineering. He had done well in high school science. "They don't let us study anything advanced here; there is probably not a single

says he will go back to Lebowa after he stops working. He doesn't have many friends. His health is not good. So he put up a sign in the house that says 'No Smoking.' We have to put out our fags in the street [He laughed.] He's always telling me to comb my hair, and until recently I had to take off my beads in the house.

"My father's idea of politics is to accept. He doesn't approve of apartheid, but he accepts. He thinks the blacks are too stupid to run the country. And he says that people who fight the system always lose. He says, 'Look at Mandela and the others—they're still on Robben Island and will stay there for all their lives.' When I got involved in the struggle, he always told me to stay away from 'that bloody rubbish.' After I got out of jail he told me, 'See what your nonsense got you. Why can't you be sensible—finish school, get a good job as a clerk or something, dress nicely, get on the waiting list for a house, marry, start to raise a family? Why can't you do that?'"

"He's my father, sure, and I respect him. But he could make you run mad. I don't know why none of us did. My eldest brother had to leave high school after two years; my father just said he had

like that, so he started calling me a monkey. I complained to the personnel office, but he kept on doing it. I quit after two months.

"My father was pleased when I got the job. He didn't believe I was working at first, but then I showed him my monthly train ticket. When I quit, I explained to him that I could no more put up with them calling me a monkey. He looked at me and said, 'And how long have they been calling me a monkey so that I can feed you and your brothers?'"

Mosubye shrugged wordlessly. Then he continued. "I can't do what he wants, though, get a job as a clerk and that. I might become another 'cat,' one of those stuck-up guys that imitate everything the black Americans do. The 'cats' sit around in the shebeen talking shit, using big words, English phrases they've memorized that have nothing to do with the way people actually talk. They wear their suits and talk about 'the poor black masses' as if they were better. And they're just clerks, messengers, nothing special."

Mosubye, like many of the Soweto student leaders, had been strongly influenced by black consciousness. But he was starting to have serious doubts by 1979, the year we became friends. "Black

tion at which so many political detainees have died suspiciously. "I told them the building must be destroyed. It is symbolic of so much evil that it must be destroyed. They said I was too sentimental. A democratic government could use the building for some good purpose."

In 1979, Mosubye Matlala planned to remain in South Africa. He also wanted to work with whites, even though he still suffered from dizzy spells due to police beatings during his stretch in detention. "I think what exists here among whites is more statutory racism than real racism. The laws keep them apart from us, not their own feelings. Especially the younger people—I don't think they're racists. We should set up contact groups between black and white students. We need something like a multiracial debating society, or a high school newspaper for all the schools in both Soweto and town."

"But this regime is very clever. You can't do fuck-all here without them knowing. They have eyes everywhere. When they detained me, they knew details about meetings I had been to that I could hardly remember myself. They've banned moderate programs like this before, and they could do it

flee. To his surprise, his grandfather supported his choice. "A month before, another old man had stopped me in the township and said, 'Wena! You? The grandson of Mazibuko? They put up our rents again, without warning. Your grandfather used to fight against such things. What does he think we must do?'"

"I went home and cornered the old man. I asked him, 'Are your beliefs still the same?' He said, 'I'm old. I fought, but always alone. Now I'm weary.'"

"Baba," I said to him. "Father. You taught me the truth remains forever."

"All right," he answered. "Yes, my beliefs are still the same. I will go and see what we can do to stop the rent increase."

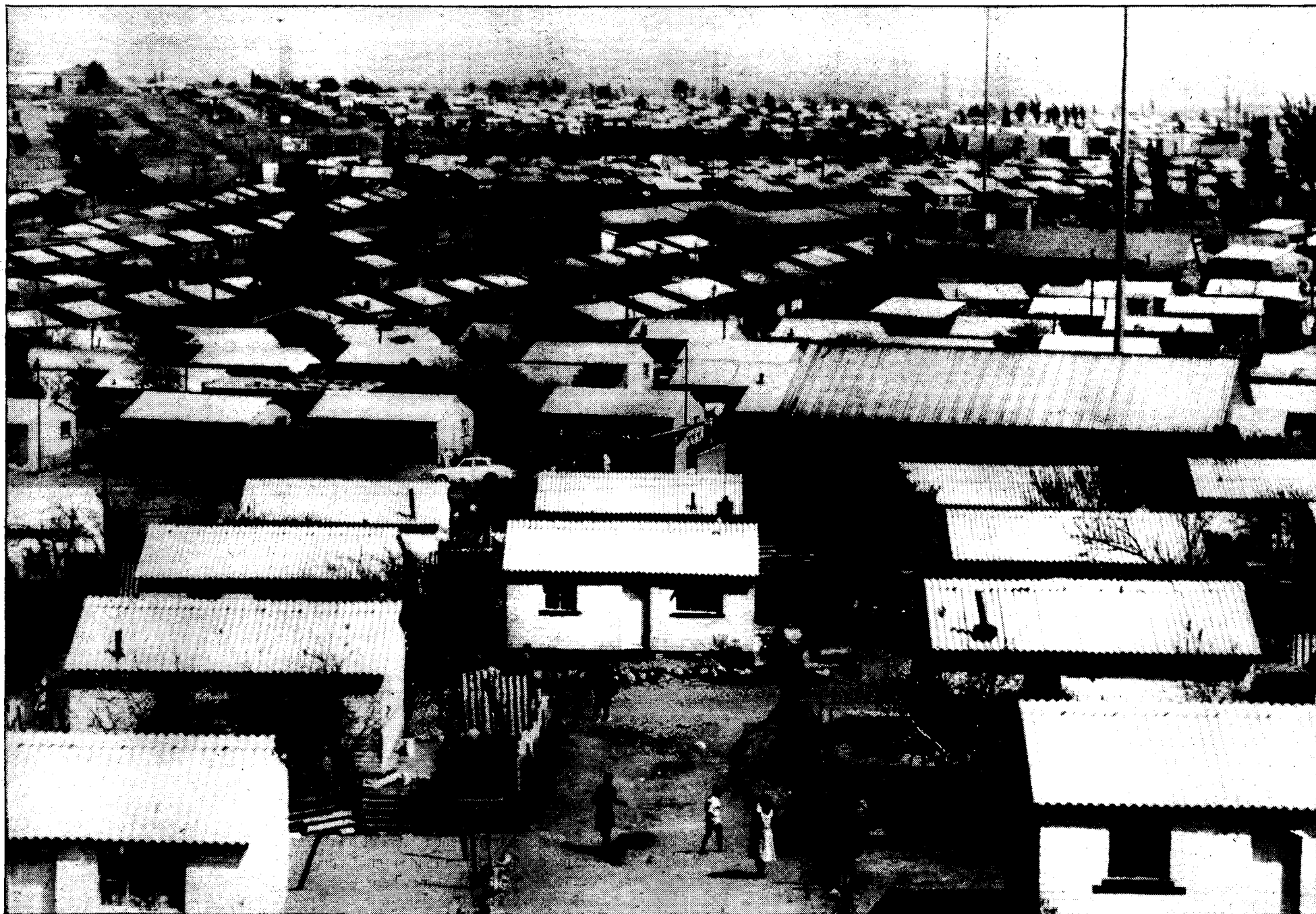
A month later, grandfather Mazibuko went into action swiftly when he learned his grandson was on the run. He consulted his wide range of contacts. Within 12 hours, a truck carrying gold miners home to a neighboring country had an additional passenger—a young man intending to train as a guerrilla soldier, and, later, as a mechanical engineer. Grandfather and grandson parted, probably for the last time.

That same year, Mosubye Matlala had a horrifying experience.

"What could I do? I had nothing. They would have come for me as well. The police were not around, and it was already too late. I just ran home. I didn't sleep all night. I read in the *Post* the next day a guy's body had been found there."

Mosubye, characteristically avid for knowledge, had acquainted himself with the works of Paulo Freire, the renowned Brazilian educator who teaches poor people to read while simultaneously promoting their self-respect and political awareness. Mosubye planned to try to set up a program along similar lines in the hostels, among the sort of people he had seen 'weeding' their victim on the darkened street. "I don't mean we should go and tell them what to do. We should

"This regime has eyes everywhere. You can't do anything without them knowing."



spent too much money on him already. My next brother ran away from home once and now he spends most of his time at Slow's shebeen. [The owner "walks slow, talks slow, generally is slow." Few people know his real name.] My father sometimes made us stay at home all evening while he lectured us, accused us of not respecting him and following his rules.

"After I got out of jail, I went to work at a television factory. I refused to call the Afrikaner induna baas, or speak to him in Afrikaans. I never say baas and it hurts me inside to see older people saying it. I always spoke to him politely, but in English. He didn't

consciousness can make you into a damn racist, going around with these hard guys preaching against 'whiteness.' Alone, black consciousness just leads to chaos. All it tells us is to have pride and awareness. It doesn't tell us how to get rid of this system, and it doesn't prepare us with the kind of skills we will need after the white conservatives piss off and we have to reconstruct the country."

He was also skeptical of the guerrilla movement. He had once had a heated argument with two ANC [African National Congress] sympathizers about the eventual fate of John Vorster Square, the main Johannesburg police sta-

again. But we must give it a try.

"I meet with some white liberals here to try and get these contact groups organized. Liberals here give you money before you even ask for it. [He laughed.] I'm worried about being around them. Maybe I'll become more moderate and soft...."

I maintained my friendship with the two young men in the years that followed. In 1981, the security police arrested several of Mandla's friends and started looking for him as well. He faced a potential lengthy prison term for his underground activities, so he had little difficulty in deciding to

Soweto, the township outside Johannesburg, where 1.5 million people live

"I caught the last bus from town at 11:00. I was walking down my street in the pitch dark, when I saw this *tsotsi* (street criminal) stabbing another guy with a 'seven.' That's a big knife that they can give you seven years in prison for having."

"He was 'weeding' this guy with the knife. That's the only word I can use to describe it—he was just carefully stabbing the guy like you might pull weeds from a garden. Another group of guys was just standing around, smoking *dagga* [marijuana] and laughing.

smoke *dagga* with them, get to know them as friends first. They are people, oppressed people. Then maybe we can try to get them to start seeing why they shouldn't be killing each other."

He had finally resolved to stay inside South Africa. "In '76, I got myself so worked up that I was ready to just go after the enemy with my bare hands. I'm more patient now. The guerrillas are coming, but people here must do more than just cheer for them. If we win the struggle and people are still stabbing each other on the street, what good will the fighting have accomplished? What kind of country will we live in?"



A Critical American: The Politics of Dwight Macdonald
By Stephen J. Whitfield
Archon, 179 pp., \$19.50

By Donald Lazere

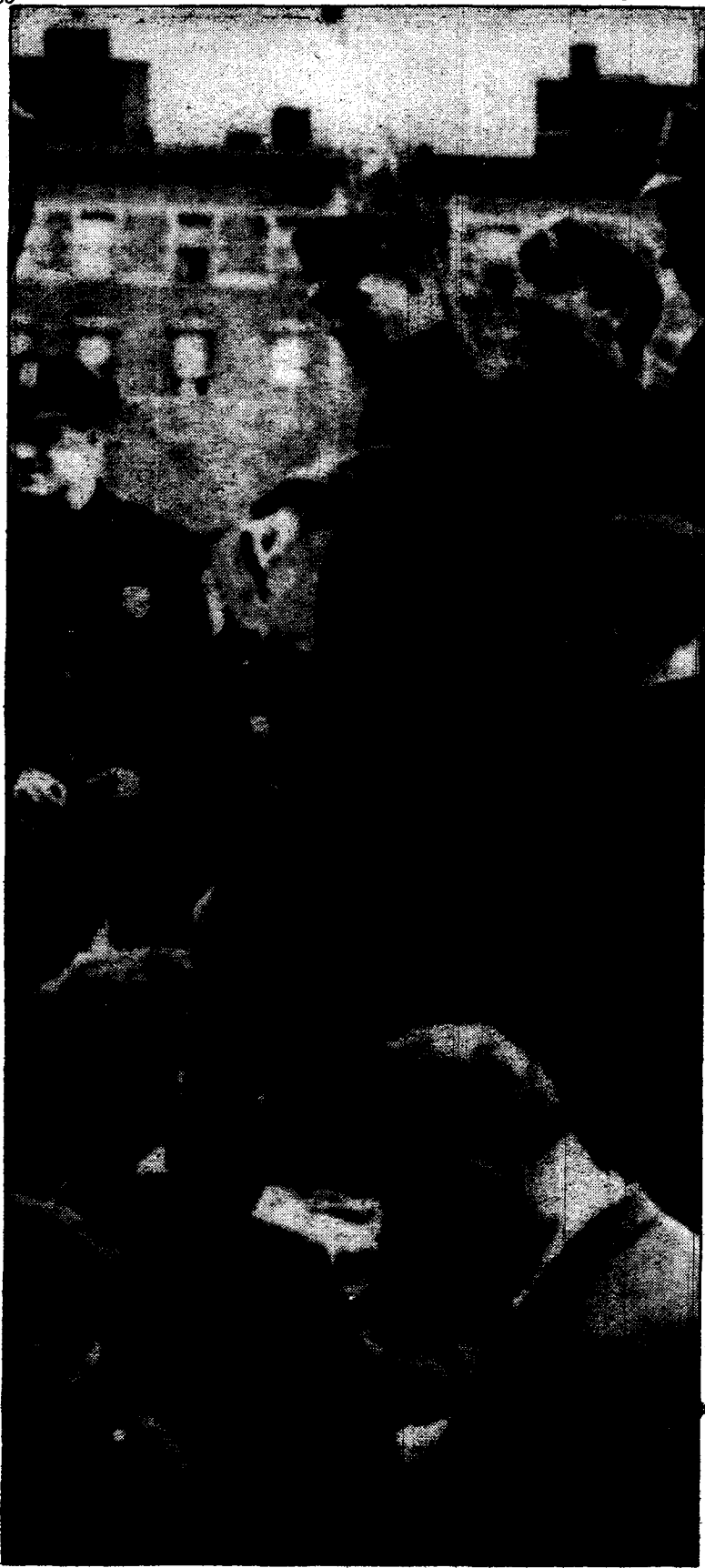
IN 1957 DWIGHT MACDONALD was teaching for a term at Northwestern, where I took his writing course. After I graduated the next year and headed for New York, I went to visit him at the *New Yorker*, where he was then a staff writer. When I mentioned that I was apartment hunting, he said that he and his family were just leaving for the summer and casually tossed me the keys to their flat on East 87th. The parade of writers, American and British, who also passed through the apartment that summer all spoke of Macdonald's generosity toward and encouragement of younger intellectuals, manifestations of which I continued to see throughout the years up to his death in 1982 at 76.

In *A Critical American*, the first book devoted to Macdonald, Stephen J. Whitfield admirably recaptures Macdonald's flamboyance, mocking (and self-mocking) wit and largesse, while chronicling his long career near the center of American political-intellectual and cultural circles. The book's most important achievement is to give Macdonald overdue recognition as a link between the old and new lefts, along with more celebrated figures like Herbert Marcuse, C. Wright Mills and Paul Goodman.

Whitfield traces Macdonald's zigzag course in the '30s and early '40s, from being a Royalist dandy at Phillips Exeter Academy and Yale, to staff writer at Henry Luce's *Fortune*, to Trotskyist Marxist as an editor of the early *Partisan Review* and member of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP)—where he was silly enough of a dandy to take the party name "James Joyce" and to try to convert Trotsky to Macdonaldism (Trotsky's response was to write, "Everyone has the right to be stupid, but Comrade Macdonald abuses the privilege.")

After getting fed up with the sectarian left battles, Macdonald resigned from *Partisan Review* and the SWP to found *Politics*, the legendary "anarcho-cynicalist," anti-war journal that he edited from 1944 to 1949. Macdonald's position in *Politics* anticipated the New Left in turning from Marx the economic determinist to the libertarian of the early manuscripts. Macdonald rejected all the doctrinaire Marxist and New Deal liberal thinkers he characterized as The Progressive, who "makes history the center of his ideology," in favor of The Radical, who "puts Man there... stressing the individual conscience and sensibility."

He adamantly opposed both the Western and Russian camps at the outset of the Cold War and sought a new world order based on non-violent, communitarian alternatives to the psychically numbing



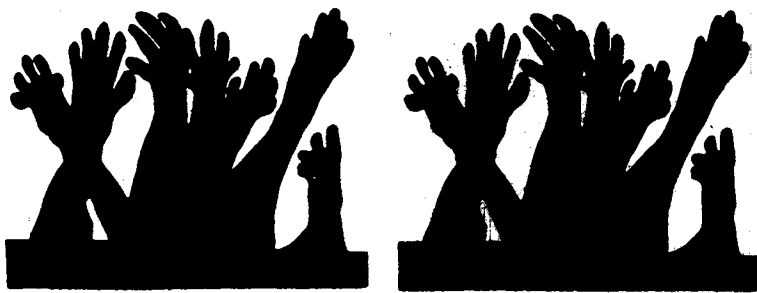
POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY

Paying homage to a missing link

world of concentration camps and mass destruction in wartime, bureaucratized mass society in peace. The concluding passage of his 1945 *Politics* essay "My Favorite General," a sardonic tribute to George S. Patton as a prototype of the brutalization of the American mentality, traced the escalation of our tolerance level for mass murder from the hundreds of civilians bombed in the Spanish Civil

War, to the tens of thousands in Hamburg and Cologne, to a million in a single B-29 raid on Tokyo. "King Mithridates is said to have immunized himself against poison by taking small doses which he increased slowly. So the gradually increasing horrors of the last decade have made each of us to some extent a moral Mithridates, immunized against human sympathy." And this was written

Macdonald's positions anticipated the New Left in rejecting doctrinaire Marxism.



Although Macdonald called the SDS's Mark Rudd (pictured here) "a no good charmer," he defended Rudd's politics.

a few days before Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

His political viewpoint and journalistic style in this period most resembled those of Camus (whose classic of anti-war resistance, "Neither Victims nor Executioners" Macdonald translated for *Politics* in 1947), Goodman (whom Macdonald published in *Politics* long before his name became widely known), and Orwell (who admired Macdonald and *Politics* although he had moved away from Macdonald's position opposing American involvement in World War II on the grounds that it was simply a struggle between rival ruling classes—a position that Macdonald himself later recanted).

Disillusioned.

In his essays collected in the 1957 book *The Memoirs of a Revolutionist* (later retitled *Politics Past*, even though the original was ironic), Macdonald traced his increasing disillusionment with Marxism, pacifism and ideologies in general, and his reluctant reconciliation to support of American armed strength in the Cold War. He never, however, joined in the enthusiastic celebrations of the U.S. and capitalism common to his ex-radical comrades, many of whom would move steadily rightward through liberalism to pro-Reagan conservatism. As the title of a later collection, in 1962, indicated, he still stood *Against the American Grain*, and he emerged from political hibernation in the '60s with a 1963 *New Yorker* review of Michael Harrington's *The Other America* (which is said, more than Harrington's book itself, to have inspired John F. Kennedy's idea for a War on Poverty), activism against nuclear arms and the Vietnam war.

And while Macdonald's head rejected leftist ideology, his anarcho-cynicalist heart responded to the iconoclastic, confrontational style of '60s movements. When SDS occupied the Columbia campus in 1968, his old schoolmate, English professor F.W. Dupee, called exultantly urging him to catch a cab uptown to witness the revolution they'd been waiting for all their lives. The 62-year-old Macdonald had a great time scrambling over the barricades to join the young occupiers, later defended them in *The New York Review of Books*, and hosted an SDS fundraiser in his apartment, though he privately told his wife that Mark Rudd was "a no-good charmer." As with many of his generation, his main criticism of the '60s leftists was the shallowness of their political education. (Perhaps he was fortunate not to have lived to witness the illiteracy of today's Youth for Reagan.)

In an eloquent chapter titled "The New Left's Ancestral Voice," Whitfield traces Macdonald's influence on organiza-

tions like SNCC, the SDS of "The Port Huron Statement" and the Berkeley Free Speech Movement—before their decline from the "anarcho-pacifism" phase that Whitfield considers their finest hour—as well as on individuals like David Dellinger, Staughton Lynd and Noam Chomsky, whose famous anti-Vietnam war essay "The Responsibility of the Intellectuals" paid homage to Macdonald's similarly titled World War II essays.

For all its pleasures, Whitfield's book has its weaknesses. We learn little here about Macdonald's personal life beyond what was already available in his own writings and the many memoirs of his contemporaries. Whitfield says less, for example, than the biographies of Camus by Herbert Lottman and of Orwell by Bernard Crick about Macdonald's collaborations with these two. We get no psychological insight into what was by all accounts an eccentric personality, by turns exuberant and irascible, commonsensical and crankish, kind in person but merciless in print to the point of cruelty—especially in later years toward leftists who retained any vestige of Marxism like Raymond Williams and C. Wright Mills. (Macdonald couldn't understand why Mills, who had written for *Politics*, broke off their friendship over Macdonald's nasty 1954 review of *White Collar* in *Partisan Review*.) And Whitfield seems to have only scratched the surface of the papers Macdonald contributed to Yale.

Midcult, mass cult.

Although Whitfield's book is much better as a political study than as a biography, its weakest point on the first score is the absence of analysis of Macdonald's cultural criticism, which Whitfield skirts by saying it is "beyond the scope of this book." The contradictions between his political and cultural ideas were a major flaw in Macdonald's later writing; they may also provide an explanation of why he was not more honored by the New Left, for as wise and witty as the film reviews and cultural theory that preoccupied him in the '50s were, they had disturbing political implications that Macdonald never thought through.

His early cultural criticism, summed up in a 1944 *Politics* essay titled "A Theory of 'Popular Culture,'" was close to the position of Mills and the Frankfurt School. (Again, Whitfield says nothing about the interaction between Macdonald, Adorno and Horkheimer in New York during the '40s.) He compared traditional folk art with "Popular Culture," a term he later replaced with "mass culture" and still later with "masscult":

"Popular Culture is imposed from above. It is manufactured by technicians hired by the ruling class.... It manipulates the cultural needs of the masses in order to make a profit for their rulers," he wrote. "Politically, Folk Art was the com-

Continued on page 22

By Kathleen Hulser

AN INUIT-ORIENTED QUIZ show; a lyric video telling the story of an Indian clan in archaic Hopi; a low-power TV station on tribal lands broadcasting Indian-made media; and a feature film using a largely Indian cast—these are some of the early results of a decade in which Native Americans have been developing the media skills to tell their own stories.

The work springing up across North America reflects two major concerns. Many of the films and tapes celebrate cultural survival, documenting traditional ways and tribal lore, and they often feature native languages. Relationships to the land are also featured, both as a key issue of Indian heritage and as an arena of political battles over mineral, fishing and hunting rights.

Connections to earth, wind and water govern the rhythms of the film *Seasons of a Navajo* by John Borden and Neil Goodwin, airing April 10 over most PBS stations. Full of gorgeous canyon landscapes, the documentary traces the yearly routines of an elderly sheep-herding couple. Although the film romanticizes what is clearly a dying way of life, it does offer an elegaic tribute to the traditions of the Navajos. The non-Indian filmmakers sensitively opted to mix the Navajo and English languages on their *cinema verité* soundtrack. The Naboya family switches gracefully from one tongue to the other, and the film helps clarify why some expressions just seem to fit better in the native language. Words for the different stages of corn and bean growth, songs to sing to grandchildren, invocations for cleansing the spirit after a stay in a sweat lodge all ring truer in the original tongue.

The search for spiritual nourishment, even in an urban setting, finds expression in the work of Minneapolis-based Chris Spotted Eagle. One of the most successful and active native American filmmakers, Spotted Eagle treated the subject of traditional religion and medicine in prisons in his film *Great Spirit in the Hole*. His awareness of how a lack of information on one's own roots feeds into social dislocation and crime sensitively informs the film's perspective. His 1984 *Our Sacred Land* picks up where Sandra Osawa's 1980 *The Black Hills Are Not for Sale* left off, offering a historical framework for the ongoing battle over the Black Hills. Most striking in the beautifully



NATIVE AMERICANS

Indians update their signals

photographed film is the conflict between the dominant society's tendency to put a money value on everything and the native Americans' insistence on the sacredness of place.

Dull knife, hot news.

Last fall in Montana the first native American-owned and-oriented television station, Dull Knife Public Television, began broadcasting in southeastern Montana. According to General Manager Ron Holt, the fare mixes studio and location pieces with an emphasis on Indian themes. Last winter, for example, Dull Knife devoted a week to problems of alcoholism and got a good viewer response.

The tiny station, with a potential audience of 40,000 Northern Cheyenne living on tribal lands, also produces an Indian news show and a weekly series on Indian health and medicine, both of which it hopes to syndicate.

Most of the rising generation of native American producers have begun with non-fiction. One veteran documentarian, Larry Littlebird, has scripted a feature that will get underway this summer in Arizona. Called *Going for the*

Rain, the feature probes the uneasy relationship that a pro boxer has with his father who still lives on the reservation. Posing questions about the gains and losses occurring during a passage from tribal to city living, the project may be a landmark in combining an Indian sensibility with a theme accessible to outsiders.

Littlebird says that the growth of the independent feature movement nationally has stimulated both hope and support for his project. Budgeted at \$1.5 million, *Going for the Rain* has already raised the bulk of its monies from PBS station WTTW in Chicago in a novel co-production effort, and the film will be shot on Zuni tribal lands.

In northern Canada, another community production project is injecting how-to home video with an unusual slant. At the Cree-Ojibway Cultural Center, Dennis Austin and crews of local residents have been making a series of videotapes on traditional crafts, ranging from making snowshoes to building a toboggan. In addition to documenting fast-disappearing arts, the project has helped to spark new respect for the skills of the elders in the community.

The toboggan tape works with subtle humor and in an intimate style, as elder John Paul Spence explains how to pick the right tree (ash, called "water tree" in Cree). And for fitness freaks tired of Jane Fonda, following the tape's instructions on strapping the rough-planed boards between two live trees to get a graceful curve in the prow will supply an excellent work-out.

This isn't the only home video effort around. Close to the Bering Sea, KYUK-TV has been selling its television production formats

ranging from broadcast to Bet and VHS cassettes. Its catalog includes titles from a piece on dog mushing to a look at hand-carved masks to a critique of government policy on remote Nunivak Island. The station plays an unusual broadcasting role in its Yup'ik and Athabascan region 400 miles west of Anchorage.

Although it is a PBS affiliate, KYUK does quite a lot of local production—from news in Yup'ik to a quiz show called "Ask in Alaskan," that is about to branch out in a native-language version. Station manager John MacDonald says that about one-third of the station's employees are native, and he is pleased with the increased policy input fostered by the growth in their media skills.

If cultural preservation is gently slipped into a popular TV genre at KYUK-TV, Hopi videomaker Victor Masayesva Jr. approaches things from an artist's perch. His videotape *Itam Hakim, Hopiit* was supported by West German television and was shot over several years on the Arizona Hopi lands. The tape derives its lyricism both from an appreciation of place and with a photographer's eye in the course of a story that celebrates the Hopi tricentennial in the Hopi language. (Masayesva often shows the tape without subtitles, giving outsiders a taste of cultural confusion.)

The central figure is storyteller Ross Macaya, an elder whose stock of tales and styles range from the formal poetry of the Hopi Emergence story to an account of the now nearly defunct Bow clan. His tale unfolds to the tune of glowing, sometimes processed video footage from the tribal lands where Macaya and Masayesva grew up and still live. Populated

with symbolic objects and mythical figures, the references encompass the humble pinto bean (staff of life, then and now) and an eagle, to remind us of threatened forms of life.

Masayesva's poetic work points to the conjunction of a new and an old tradition. Storytelling, a Hopi forte, cooperates with TV's talking pictures to give us a provocative cultural blend. The videomaker notes with some amusement that the old man has become

The traditions of the first Americans are finding a home in society's most high-tech forms.

so attuned to the medium he would tell him to edit in things he forgot later.

Oral history, how-to home video, quiz shows, Indian news and feature films—all these productions indicate that native Americans have something to say for themselves, and to others, after years of enforced silence. An attachment to the land, a spiritual orientation to the symbolic traditions of the first Americans are finding a home in industrial society's most high-tech forms. It may well be that Indians, who have yet to claim an assured place for their oral traditions within European literary conventions, may find new expression for them in broadcast media.

For further information, contact Film and Video, Museum of the American Indian, Broadway at 155th St., New York, NY 10032; for Alaskan productions, contact Video Catalog, KYUK-TV, Box 468, Bethel, AK 99559.

Kathleen Hulser is a New York-based cultural writer.

CULTURE SHOCK

Tourist Trap

Visitors to Our Nation's Capital can now take an "assassination tour," following in the last footsteps of Lincoln and John Wilkes Booth.

Slim Video

Stouffer's, which produces Lean Cuisine diet dinners, has now produced a how-to home video program on weight loss and nutrition.

The Money of the Bride

Wedding spending has grown 34 percent since 1977, though weddings have only increased 5 percent; the average age of brides has risen, along with a trend toward fancy ceremonies.

Shooting for Heaven

The first business in space burials has now opened in New York. Costs of turning a can of cremated remains into an orbiting satellite range from \$10,000 to \$40,000.



Culture

Continued from page 20

mon people's own institution, largely independent of their masters' culture; while Popular Culture is an instrument of social domination.... If one had no other data to go on, a study of Popular Culture would reveal capitalism to be an exploitative class society and not the harmonious commonwealth its apologists say it is."

Macdonald's revisions of this essay in 1953 and 1960 were symptomatic of the depoliticizing of cultural issues that characterized Cold War ideology. Like many other ex-Marxists, he abandoned the belief that the working class has been diverted from its revolutionary mission only by capitalist manipulation into false consciousness and mass-cultural distraction. He did not, like Cold War liberal pluralists such as David Riesman and Herbert Gans or conservatives like Daniel Boorstin, go so far as to reject the manipulation thesis altogether on the grounds that American media, business and politicians only give the masses what they want. But he did conclude, in "Masscult and Midcult" (1960), that "the conservatives are right when they say there has never been a broadly democratic culture on a high level. This is not because the ruling class forcibly excluded the masses—this is Marxist melodrama—but quite simply because the great majority

of people at any given time (including most of the ruling class, for that matter) have never cared enough about such things to make them an important part of their lives."

This argument begged questions about the relation between cultural and political democracy and between culture, class and political consciousness. For example, despite high culture's historical association with the upper classes, it has functioned in the 20th century not simply as the aesthetic preserve Macdonald advocated but as a pocket of leftist resistance against political regimentation, as Mills and Marcuse argued. At the same time, the class antagonism between highbrows and workers in the U.S. has obstructed their cooperation in a mass left movement.

Macdonald's resignation to mass-cultural manipulation also tacitly condoned the constantly increasing control and numbing of consciousness by mass-media conditioned politics, news, advertising and entertainment media—especially TV, which he scarcely wrote about. Considering his previous history of cheerfully admitting past errors, we can charitably attribute his failure to do so to his finally being burned out from a lifetime of fighting for good causes in his own quixotic way.

Donald Lazere, professor of English at California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo, most recently edited *Entertainment As Social Control: Left Perspectives on American Mass Media*, to be published late this year by University of California Press.

Toys

Continued from page 24

market. Recent sales reports suggest that there may be more nurturant boys out there than toy manufacturers ever dreamed of. Last year, Ideal/CBS Toys found lots of boys buying not only their stuffed Alvin and the Chipmunks dolls, but also Chipmunk clothing, including a Superman costume, an Olympics gym suit and a Rocky-style boxing outfit. Al Kahn, Coleco's executive vice president for toys, says that "almost 20 percent of our [Cabbage Patch Kids] adoptions are little boys."

Of the major manufacturers, Hasbro Bradley is going most aggressively after sensitive little males. "There was a decision made on our part," says Al Carosi, "to really attack that boys segment, and to introduce a product that boys can use fully in their lifestyle the same way girls can use their dolls. Boys can take them out and play with them. They can be rough-and-tumble. They can have quiet times with them." The product is a slightly-smaller-than-life stuffed playmate called My Buddy. He comes in white or black, dressed in overalls, sneakers and a baseball cap. My Buddy fits into infant-size clothing. That, says a press release, "is important because boys, like girls, enjoy dressing and undressing play."

Carosi acknowledges that, in pre-market testing, Hasbro noticed "a small amount of reticence on the part of fathers" toward buying their boys a baby doll, but not enough to scare My Buddy off the 1985 list. "Is it a change?" he asks. "I really don't think it is. Boys always played with dolls. It just wasn't really attacked directly the way we're doing it now with Buddy."

Scaring the girls.

Other manufacturers are trying a creepier attack on little boys' emotions. Al Kahn says that while Cabbage Patch Kids

triggered strong emotional reactions in little girls, Coleco thinks insects hold the key to boys' guts.

"Bugs push very strong emotions in boys," says Kahn. "Boys like bugs. They've always liked bugs. They play with them when they're small. And they also like the idea that bugs scare little girls."

Coleco's bug entry is a line called Sectaurs. Like any modern toy line worth its promotional budget, it's backed by a TV mini-series and a Marvel comic. Sectaurs, the results of a biological tragedy thousands of years in the future in a faraway galaxy, come in sets of two—an insect-like human and an enormous mutant bug. True pals, they look alike and share each others' thoughts. Some are small plastic figures with working jaws or water-shooting mouths.

More innovative are Coleco's large, furry, disturbingly realistic bug puppets. A press release claims that their "hands-in-play features," i.e., their puppet-ness, "enable the child to physically cause, control and feel the figure's action"—not to mention scaring little girls with battery-driven buzzing wings and "hands-in" jaws and claws.

Schwartz, too, says that "a lot of little boys are going to scare a lot of little girls" with their selections from what Ideal's TV commercials call "the horrifying, gruesome, unnatural world of Rocks and Bugs and Things." Each rock, bug or thing transforms into something yet more disgusting at the touch of a button, and each comes with an obscure object called a "mordle," which Schwartz calls "cannon fodder."

Ideal expects Rocks and Bugs and Things to fill a perceived need for enemies in established action-figure universes like G.I. Joe, Transformers and Masters of the Universe. "There's nobody trying to do rocks yet," says Robin Gran Landis, product manager. "We think we're a leader in that area."

Andy Gatto, vice president for marketing and sales at LJN Toys, Ltd., takes a pragmatic view of LJN's ironically named X-

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Europe's role in America's world

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Terminators—large motorized plastic insects that, if blocked in their forward progress, rear up on their hind legs and shake their pincers, eyes aglow. He says LJN just copied the idea from Japan, birthplace of the robot toy.

Most toy makers say the shift from electronics to emotions reflects the market, not the national juvenile psyche. "There's only so many things you can do with a bleep and a light," explains Kenner's Pam Robertson.

But Al Kahn of Coleco, which built an empire on affection, and hopes to expand it with fear, claims loftier aspirations. "There are certain very identifiable emotions that these children have," says Kahn. "They themselves want to find ways of releasing them. Parents are concerned about them holding in their emotions. They want the emotions to be released. All the psychologists are saying it's much better for children to get their emotions on the table. What these toys do is enable them to fantasize, to bring their emotions out in a very meaningful way."

"Coleco," he mentions later, "has always been successful in selling emotions." ■
Russell Miller is a journalist who regularly covers consumer marketing.

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **ITT Calendar**.

BOSTON

April 11

A "Salute to Labor," the 1985 Debs-Thomas-Bernstein Award will honor Massachusetts union activists Jack Davidson, Carol Doherty, Tommy Evers and David Slaney, with William Winpisinger as keynote speaker. Sponsored by Boston Democratic Socialists of America. Dinner at Boston Teachers Union Hall in Dorchester, 6:00 p.m. For ticket information call 426-9026.

WASHINGTON

April 19-22

Join with coalition of peace, labor and social justice groups committed to mounting forceful responses to present domestic and inter-

national injustices. Friday April 19—kick-off event, multi-faith service, National City Christian Church, 14th & Massachusetts Ave., NW, 6:30 p.m., Saturday, April 20, Assembly, mass demonstration and rally, and festival of resistance (cultural arts), the Ellipse. Rally 12:30 p.m., March 1:00 p.m. to capitol. Sunday, April 21, Lobby training session, registration—10:00 a.m., Georgetown University, McDonough Gym. Civil disobedience training session, registration—11:00 a.m.; Marie Reed Community Center, 18th & California, NW, Monday, April 22nd, Lobby day—9:00 a.m., Capitol Hill, Civil Disobedience assembly—7:30 a.m., Lincoln Memorial, March to White House for cd action, 9:00 a.m. For more information, (202) 667-9485.

NEW YORK

April 25

"Union Democracy Update: What's Happening: In the law/in the unions." Speakers: Herman Benson, Arthur Z. Schwartz, Judith Schneider. Reports on Teamster, Public employees, Hospital workers, Construction unionists, AFL-CIO, more. 8:00 p.m., Judson Memorial Church (Greenwich Village). 241 Thompson St. at Washington Square, South.

Admission free. Sponsored by: Association for Union Democracy, (718) 855-6650.

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May 3-5

Attend "Stop the Arms Race in Space: A National Convention" in Colorado Springs (center for militarization of space). Goals are education and national strategy and coalition to halt space weapons. Registration: \$20; meals extra. Information, registration: STARS Convention, P.O. Box 915, Colorado Springs, CO 80901; (303) 471-1077 or 832-4508.

CHICAGO

May 4

27th Annual Norman Thomas-Eugene V. Debs Dinner. Honorees: Ed Asner, president Screen Actors Guild (AFL-CIO) and star of *Lou Grant* show; Vicky Starr, founding member, United Packinghouse Workers, featured in *Union Maids*. Featured speaker: U.S. Rep. Lane Evans. Catered dinner included. \$30.00 per person. 6:00 p.m. at McCormick Hotel. Auspices Democratic Socialists of America. (312) 871-1986.

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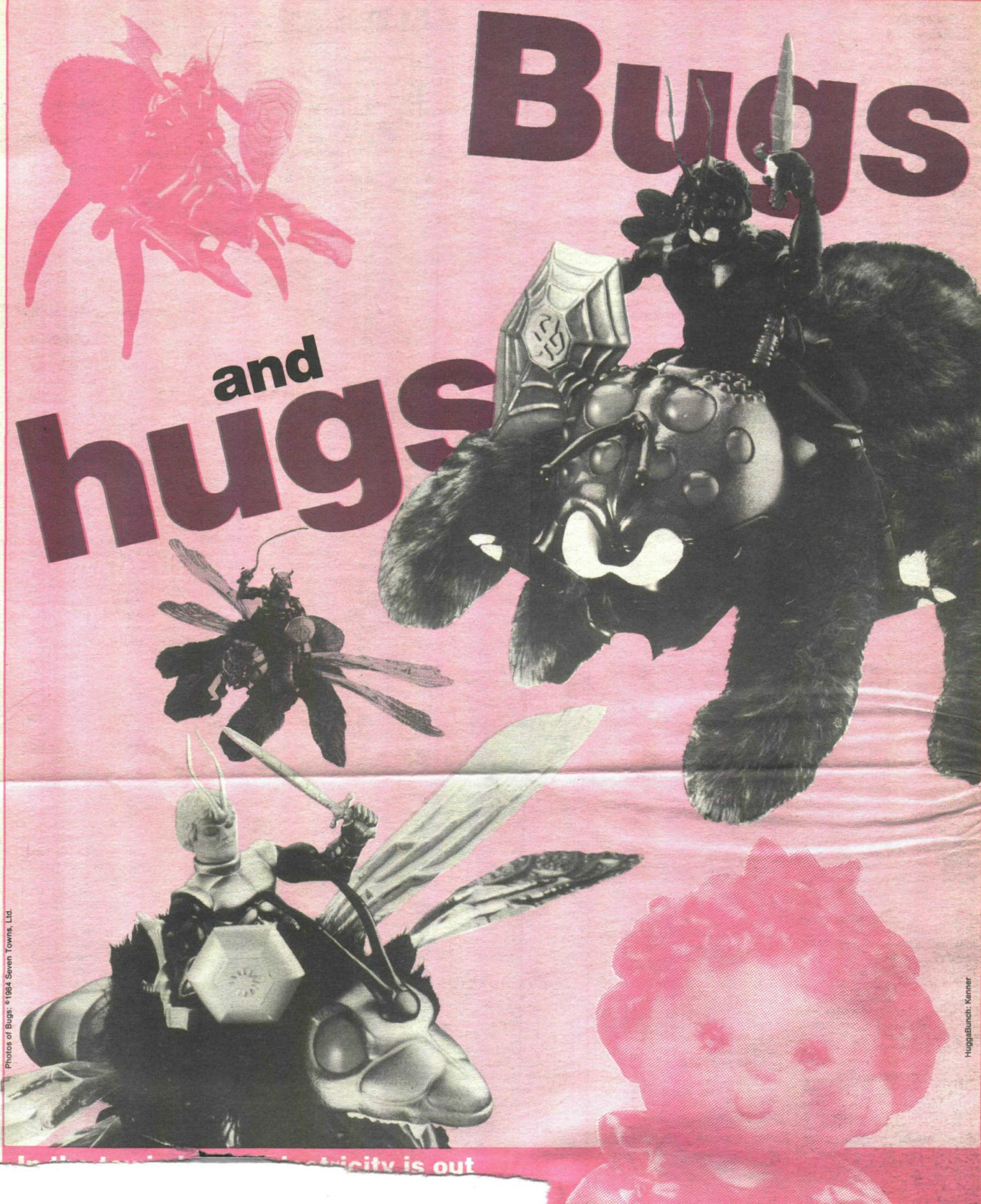
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with its two-year-old plush line, Bears. Each Bear stands for a distinct emotional state, identified by a "tummy tag" and a "tushy tag." "Parents love it because it's teaching kids about feelings," says Kenner's Pam Robertson.

improved feelings.

In 1985, Kenner introduced five new feeling Bears: championship, sharing, love, luck (and a "tushy tag") in four sizes, plus six purportedly different species. Then Kenner raised the stakes with a new line aimed at kids for whom merely feeling cannot suffice: the Hugga Bunch, with names like Huggins, Precious Hugs and Huggles. The line includes the 17-inch Huggas. The five-inch "baby Hugglets." "It's showing people you can hug," says Robertson. "There's nothing wrong with

Kenner has also undertaken to defend the huggability of robots. Robertson says that the cold, sleek and monumentally successful robot toys introduced by other manufacturers have given robots a bad rap. "We're trying to show that kids shouldn't be afraid of them," she says.

The vehicle for this effort is "Robotman & Friends: A New Line of Irresistible Friendly Robots"—three plush dolls and a hard plastic sidekick. A microchip sewn into each of the plush figures plays its "theme song" when a child touches its little silk-screened heart. Robertson says the robot "needs love to be kept alive." Alas, according to a press release, the "one ability he does not have is the one that detects false love."

Robotman, by blending high-tech and plush, and by staking out an explicitly bisexual market position, is an advance scout for cuddle in the vast, unexploited boys'

Continued on page 22